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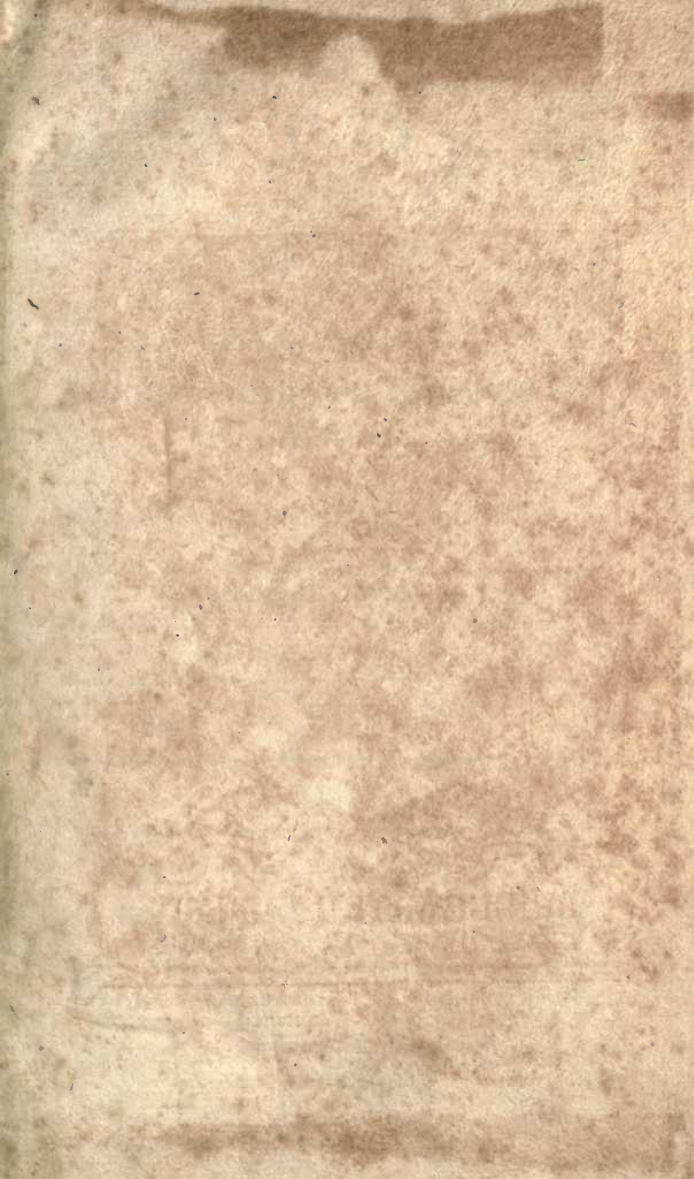
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THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,

From the Time the
French Monarchy was Establish'd in
G A U L,
TO THE
Death of LEWIS the Fourteenth.

Written Originally in FRENCH
By Father *DANIEL*, of the Society of *JESUS*;
And now Translated into ENGLISH.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

L O N D O N:

Printed for G. STRAHAN, at the *Golden Ball* over against
the *Royal-Exchange*, W. MEARS at the *Lamb*, and,
D. BROWNE, at the *Black Swan* without *Temple-Bar*,
and J. WOODMAN and D. LYON in *Russel-Street*,
Covent-Garden.

M DCC XXVI.

THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE

From the Time of

which Monarchy was established in

1644

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Death of Lewis the Fourteenth

Written originally in French
by Father DAVY, of the Society of JESU;
Translated into English

FIVE VOLUMES.

VOLUME IV.

LONDON

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Green Man, over against
St. Dunstons Church, in Fleet Street, and
by J. Smith, at the Golden Ball, in Pall Mall.
MDCCLXXII.

W. DODD

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

VOL. IV.

CHARLES IX.

CHARLES IX. ascended the throne at the age of ten years and an half, with no prospect of a happier reign than that of his predecessor. The factions that divided the court, thought of nothing but strengthening themselves against the opposite interest; and the queen mother of reuniting or balancing their powers; and supposing this should prove impracticable, she design'd to put her self at the head of the most powerful party, in order to crush the weakest.

A. D.
1560.

As soon as the late king's eyes were closed, she sent *M. de Lansac* to meet the connestable, who was come as far as *Etampes*, with orders to desire him to repair immediately to court, for that she had need of his advice in the present situation, and designed to restore him again to his office of connestable. He arrived at *Orleans*, attended with seven or eight hundred gentlemen, and was honourably received by the king and queen, who were yet both doubtful of the consequences of his arrival.

The king of *Navarre* and the admiral being encouraged by his presence, and the supply that he had brought

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B

them,

A. D.
1560.

them, began to assume a more haughty countenance; and *Messieurs de Guise*, to stand more than ever upon their guard; but this, without being frightened, or thinking to quit the party. The queen mother's whole concern was to behave in such a manner, as to give no suspicion of partiality to one or the other, in order to leave them both room to hope, that she would enter into their measures. She had a private conference with the connestable; in which, she expressed an intire confidence in him, for the security of her children, her self, and the kingdom; and being a great mistress of flattery, so wrought upon his passions, that she perswaded him to approve and maintain the treaty she had made with the king of *Navarre*, concerning the regency; of which, after the usual formalities in such cases, she immediately took possession.

At the instances of both the one and the other, she granted the prince of *Conde* his liberty; but on condition of his returning to *la Fere* in *Picardy* under a guard, which was appointed only for form sake, until such time as he should be declared innocent of the crimes, that had been laid to his charge, by an act of council, and another of the parliament. This happen'd soon after the connestable's arrival. At the same time, she assured *Messieurs de Guise*, who, in vain used their utmost endeavours to set her at variance with the king of *Navarre*, that she would not desert them, nor acknowledge a separate interest.

By this means she gain'd the consent of all sides, for the opening of the states, which had their first session on the thirteenth of *December*. This session began with a long speech of the chancellor *de l'Hôpital's*, full of learning, but very little to the purpose; such, however, as was admired at that time. He concluded, That the concerns of religion were to be referred to a general council; and that, in order to the repose of the kingdom, effectual measures were to be taken for reuniting the parties; and that it was proper, the governors and magistrates should severely punish the transgressors of the edicts.

In the following sessions, the speakers chosen for each of the three estates, made their harangues; having first conferr'd in private with those of their own body. *John de Lange*, advocate in the parliament of *Bordeaux*, speaker of the third estate, made only an invective against

Thuanus,
l. 17.
Mémoires de
Castelnau,
Belcar, &c.

against the clergy, and propos'd no other remedy for the troubles of the kingdom, but the reformation of the ecclesiasticks. A. D.
1560.

James de Silly, baron of *Rocheport*, speaker for the nobility, was for granting churches to the lords and gentlemen of the new reformation.

John Quentin, law professor in the university of *Paris*, speaker for the spiritual order, took the contrary side from the two former, and declared openly against the innovators in religion. He greatly extolled the respect due to the clergy; and being unable to clear them of corruption, he insisted upon a revocation of the concordat, and the restitution of the pragmatick sanction, that the ecclesiasticks might be encouraged to apply themselves to study, and the practice of virtue, in hopes of arriving at preferment in the church, upon the re-establishment of elections. But that which made the greatest impression in this speech, was, his requesting of the king, that whosoever had or should hereafter petition his majesty to grant the hereticks churches, should himself be deem'd a heretick, and punish'd as such.

Every one immediately cast his eyes upon the admiral, who could not have been more visibly described. This lord contain'd himself, and waited till the next day, before he demanded satisfaction for the affront that had been pass'd upon him. The speaker urged, in his own defence, that he had only enlarg'd upon the minutes he had received from the clergy; and that it was not reasonable to make a personal quarrel of that, which was the act of the whole body. But to satisfy Monsieur the admiral, he declared in his speech, in the last session of the estates, that he had no view to him, in what he had said upon this occasion; with which the admiral seem'd to be contented.

It was propos'd by some to consider, whether it was proper for the queen mother to be charged with the regency; but this proposal was not seconded. The regency was confirm'd to the queen, the lieutenantcy-general of the kingdom to the king of *Navarre*, the superintendence of the finances to the cardinal of *Lorraine*; and it was decreed, that the connestable should be generalissimo of the forces. The days were appointed for holding the council of state, and that of the finances; the method to be observ'd upon that occasion prescribed;

A. D. 1560. directions given for the king's conduct at those times for the dispatch of orders, and the authority settled which the king of *Navarre* was to exercise there in subordination to that of the queen.

The admiral, who had been the secret author of the proposal concerning the regency, which he would fain have had conferred upon the king of *Navarre*, saw plainly, by the reception it met with, that his party was not likely to prevail; and besides that, he had another more convincing proof of it: For, notwithstanding the instances of the deputy of the nobility for granting churches to the Calvinist gentlemen, the matter was only referr'd to a farther consideration; the answer being, That they would debate that affair, in the new assembly of the states, to be held at *Pontoise* the next *May*. The king, in the mean time, granted a general pardon for all that had passed; prohibited any farther progress in the business of religion; and ordered the bishops to prepare for going to the new council, which pope *Pius IV.* was about to call at *Trent*.

Belleforest.
66. c. 92.

Popeliniere.
l. 7.

Ordonnances
d'Orleans.

After this, he made a great number of regulations in his council, upon the presentment of the estates, relating to the clergy and nobility, to the administration of justice, and to commerce. Thus the estates at *Orleans* broke up; and with them ended the year 1560. Many flattered themselves, that now, also, the troubles of the kingdom would be at an end: But the passions of ambition, hatred, and jealousy, are not so easily calmed, when once they are inflamed; especially, if they are capable of being coloured over with a pretence of zeal, and the interest of religion; and if they proceeded not to the last extremity, the following year, there appeared a disposition to a most cruel civil war, which soon after broke out.

D'Avila.
l. 2.

The king of *Navarre* was continually solicited by the prince of *Conde*, the *Coligni's*, and the queen *Jane d'Albret* his wife, to undertake the cause of the hugonots, whose great zeal for his service, and for maintaining the dignity of the princes of the blood, against the attempts of the house of *Guise*, he had experienced. Sometimes he suffered himself to be shaken: But the queen mother, artfully diverted the design, by desiring him to give himself time to bring matters about, which

The Reign of CHARLES IX.

§

by too much precipitation would be ruined, rather than advanced. A. D.
1560.

The prince of *Conde*, and the *Coligni's*, finding this way unsuccessful, used all their application to bring over the connestable to their party.

Messieurs de *Guise*, who were informed of it, and were sensible of what consequence it was, that he should not go over to that side, made some advances themselves to engage him in their interest.

This lord, notwithstanding his ambition and resentment had caused him to take some false steps in the preceding reign, was very firmly attach'd to the old religion, and thought himself obliged, both in honour and conscience, not to suffer it to be abolish'd in the kingdom; which consideration on one hand, and his hatred to the house of *Guise* on the other, kept him in suspense between both parties.

But at length, being informed of the admiral's intrigues, and of those of the mareschal de *Montmorency* his son, who, without consulting him, had taken measures for raising great disturbances in the assembly of the states, to be held at *Pontoise*; observing moreover, with how much assurance the hugonot ministers preach'd in the very midst of the court, in the apartments of the king of *Navarre*, whither they came in shoals; that flesh was publicly sold in Lent, the season they were then in; and that it was served up among the courtiers at almost every meal; he resolved to unite sincerely with the duke of *Guise*, against the hugonots.

The duke, on the other hand, was too great a gainer by this union, not to contribute towards it all that was in his power. They vow'd an eternal friendship to each other, and, to make their reconciliation and intentions known to all the world, they communicated on Easter-sunday at the same Table, and the same evening the connestable gave a supper to the duke of *Guise*, to *Henry* prince of *Joinville* the duke's eldest son, and to the mareschal de *S. Andre*, who had brought about their agreement, and joined with them in the confederacy, which was called by the name of the Triumvirate. From that time, the connestable had no regard for the hugonots, but shewed his aversion to them upon all occasions.

D'Avila, l. 2.
Branôme
dans l' éloge
du connétable.
Additions
aux Memoires
de Castelnau.
l. 2. c. 5.

A.D.

1560.



The triumvirate was matter of great uneasiness to the queen mother, whose design was to declare for neither party, but to carry fair with both, and keep them upon a ballance 'till the king came of age. She greatly commended the connestable's zeal for the catholick religion, and at the same time gave the king of *Navarre* hopes of a favourable edict for the hugonots.

In the mean time, the king was carried to *Rheims*, to be consecrated, which ceremony was performed by *A.D. 1561* the cardinal of *Lorraine*, who was archbishop of that see, on the 15th of *May*, being Ascension-day. This ceremony served for a pretence to put off the assembly of the estates, which was to have been held at *Pontoise* that very month.

During this interval, several insurrections were made in different places, as well by the catholicks as the hugonots. They considered upon ways and means to prevent so many disturbances; and, at the same time, upon a proper answer to a petition, which the hugonots had presented to the king.

Memoires de
Castelnau, l.
3.

This petition was a consequence of the new situation of the court, upon occasion of the triumvirate. The admiral, who was always ready to make his advantage of the proper conjunctures, hearing that the queen had entered into a very close union with the king of *Navarre*, after the forming of this new party, thought the present a favourable time, and in concert with the prince of *Conde*, persuaded the king of *Navarre*, to present the request to the king, who sent it to his council; where it was resolved, that a parliament should be called, and that the princes of the blood, and the peers of the realm should attend, to consider, in the king's presence, whether to reject the petition, or answer it; and, if the latter, in what manner it should be done.

The parliament being met, they began with declaring, that every one should have the liberty of speaking his mind without danger; and the reason of this declaration, was, the apprehension, which those members, who favoured the hugonots, were under, that it was only a snare laid for them, as had happen'd in the reign of *Henry II.* The example of the counsellor *Anne du Bourg* made them tremble: But the declaration of safety removed their fears.

The opinions were reduced to three. First, that the execution of the edicts should be suspended, 'till such time as the general council had pronounced upon the articles of faith, which were the cause of the difference; Secondly (which was the very reverse of the former) that the magistrates should be obliged to execute the laws and ordinances against hereticks, with the utmost rigour. Thirdly, that the cognizance of religious crimes should be reserved to the ecclesiastical tribunals; that all meetings, even without arms, should be prohibited on pain of death; and that it should not be lawful to preach, or administer the sacraments, in any other manner, than what had been observed to that time in the church of *Rome*. This last opinion was carried by a majority of voices, and recorded.

A. D.
1561.

It was upon this plan, that the famous edict of *July* was drawn up some days after at *S. Germans*; but with several modifications added by the queen mother.

Notwithstanding these clauses, which very much soften'd the resolutions of the parliament against the Calvinists, the edict put them into a consternation; and the admiral, who saw, that the petition had produced an effect quite contrary to his expectations, being incensed at this bad success, resolved to be revenged of the queen, by bringing the article of regency upon the board again before the estates.

This princess was apprized of his design; and as her chief aim was the preservation of her power and authority, she omitted nothing that might contribute to regain the admiral, which she effected by promising him to procure a proposal, which he had always wish'd for, to be made in council, and to back it with all her authority, viz. that a conference should be appointed between the protestant ministers and the catholick prelates and doctors. This proposal was so very agreeable to the admiral, that he promised her all she cou'd desire, in case it succeeded. He foresaw the great service it would be to his party, and he could have taken no step more acceptable to *Calvin* and the doctors of the sect.

Accordingly the queen caused the proposal to be offered in council; and all the plausible arguments proper to make it pass, were urged upon the occasion.

A. D. 1561. Several opposed it, and especially the cardinal of *Tournon*, who shewed the danger of such sort of conferences, and produced several other convincing reasons to dissuade the king from such an expedient. And without doubt the project wou'd have miscarried, if the cardinal of *Lorraine* had seconded the cardinal of *Tournon*; but they were amazed to see him of a contrary opinion, and to support that opinion with such forcible reasons, that he drew over the greatest part of the council to his sentiments.

This conduct of the cardinal of *Lorraine* made a great noise in the world. Several were of opinion, and publicly averred, that he had acted in this particular upon no other motive than that of vanity; and that he was transported with the opportunity of displaying his wit, learning and eloquence, upon so extraordinary an occasion. Be that as it will, the famous conference at *Poissy* was resolved upon in council; and a few days after, the passes were prepared and dispatched for a certain number of ministers of the new reformation, whom the hugonot party should think proper to depute for that purpose.

In the mean time the estates met at *Pontoise* in *August*: There were some farther intrigues carrying on against the queen mother upon occasion of the regency, and against the cardinal of *Lorraine*, in order to call him to account for the administration of the finances; but they were all to no purpose; and the clergy consented to pay into the treasury four tenths of the ecclesiastical revenues for six years.

*Lettre de M. de l'Aube-
pine à l'Evê-
que de Ren-
nes,* On the 24th of the same month, the prince of *Conde* and the duke of *Guise* were reconciled together by the king's order. The duke shew'd a great deal of moderation and prudence upon the occasion; and all disputes were industriously avoided.

When this happen'd, the duke of *Guise* was just arrived from *Calais*, whither he came to see the young queen of *Scotland* take shipping, in order to return to her own kingdom. It was a melancholy voyage for this princess, who, had it been in her own power, would have chose rather to reside in *France* with the title of queen dowager, than to sit upon the throne of *Scotland*; but the queen mother could not endure her, nor could she herself conveniently forsake her states, or fail of losing them,

them, if she continued in *France*. She arrived in *Scotland* on the 25th of *August*, where providence had prepared for her a long train of troubles and misfortunes. A. D.
1561.

As soon as the hugonot ministers had received their passes, they came to court, with *Theodore Beza* at their head; a man equally famous for his parts, and the corruption of his manners, which he seems to have prided himself in, by making it publick in his scandalous poems. The queen cautioned them to observe an exact decorum in the presence of so illustrious an assembly as that was before which they were to appear.

The cardinal of *Lorraine*, *Claudius Espenceus*, *Claudius de Xaintes*, a regular canon, and some others, doctors of the faculty of theology at *Paris*, were to be the advocates for the catholick party; not that they design'd to make a set dispute of it; for it was below the cardinal's dignity and birth to put himself upon the level with persons of the rank and station of these protestant ministers: But his business there was only to clear up their difficulties, and, as I may say, to instruct them; which, doubtless, was the reason, why these conferences were called by the name of *Colloquium*.

It was opened on the 9th of *September*, in the great refectory of the abby of *Poissi*, in the presence of the king, the queen, all the princes then at court, a great number of lords, the cardinals *de Bourbon*, *de Tournon*, *de Chatillon*, *de Guise*, *d'Armagnac*, and about forty prelates.

The king having testified in a few words, his great desire to see a re-union in the business of religion, the chancellor made a speech, in such a manner, as confirmed the ill opinion they already had of him in relation to his sentiments and belief.

When he had ended, the cardinal of *Tournon* replied, and having spoken of the chancellor's discourse with great moderation, he desired a copy of it for himself and the bishops. The chancellor excused himself, apprehending that it might hereafter be made use of against him. It was no further insisted upon, and the duke of *Guise* and *M. de la Ferte*, captain of the guards, went out, in order to give way to the protestant ministers.

A. D.
1561.

Lettre de la
Reine à l'E-
vêque de Ren-
nes.
Popeliniere
l. 7.
Thuanus
l. 28.

Beza harangued, and at the conclusion of his speech recited the profession of his faith, agreeably to the apostles creed, explain'd some articles of it according to *Calvin's* doctrine, and, at the end of it, discoursing of the sacrament of the eucharist, let fall these words, *That the body of Christ was as far removed from the bread and wine, as heaven is from earth.*

These words raised a great murmur in the audience, who had 'till then hearkned to him, the one with pleasure, and the other with patience, because he had a very graceful delivery.

The cardinal of *Tournon* could hardly forbear interrupting him; and as soon as the minister had done speaking, he inveighed with much zeal against the blasphemy he had heard; desired the king not to suffer himself to be imposed upon by these new doctors; promised to lay before him such proofs of the truth of that which the *Roman* church believed; as, if the discourse he had heard, had raised any doubts in his mind, should perfectly remove them; and added, that if it had not been for his regard to his majesty, he would have immediately risen up and departed the assembly, and that he should have been followed by all the cardinals and prelates, and every catholick that was present.

Beza himself repented his having so openly explain'd his error concerning the eucharist, and the next day, presented an explication of his proposition to the queen, by which he endeavoured to mollify her, couching his heresy in ambiguous terms.

On the 16th of *September*, was held a second session, in which the cardinal of *Lorraine*, with much solidity and eloquence, refuted the principal points in *Beza's* discourse. He particularly insisted upon the article relating to the eucharist, and pointed out the contradictions in *Beza's* explication of the proposition, which had so greatly scandalized the largest part of the assembly at the first session; and concluded with conjuring the king to hear the hugonot ministers no more; and to require them to depart the kingdom immediately, where their presence served only to corrupt the people daily more and more.

Upon this the prelates rose up; *Beza* pressed the king to give him leave to reply to the cardinal's arguments,

ments, and not being able to obtain it, because the session had already continued a long time; he requested, that at least he and his colleagues might be permitted to have some farther private conferences with the catholick doctors: which was granted him, to prevent the publishing of his reply, which was suspected.

A. D.
1561.

The private conferences were held, and after much disputation, a proposal was made to appoint deputies on both sides, to draw up a form of faith upon the article of the eucharist, which was done in concert, and couched in such language as dazzled the understandings of many people. It was pretended also, that the cardinal of *Lorraine* having read it, approved of it: but when it was communicated to the prelates and doctors, they had another opinion of it, and on the 9th of *October*, the faculty of theology declared it to be insufficient, subtle and heretical, and full of errors against the mystery of the sacrament. It was easy for them to prove the truth of their censure, and that the presence of *Jesus Christ* by faith in the eucharist, to which this form amounted, is by no means, that real presence which the church has always believed.

The assembly of *Poissi* approved of the censure of the doctors, and represented to the king, by the mouth of the cardinal of *Tournon*, that there was nothing to be expected from these conferences, and that it was necessary to oblige the hugonot doctors to subscribe another form, which was drawn up in plain and express terms, and without any equivocation; and that if they should refuse, they ought no more to be hearkned to; but to be made depart the kingdom with all speed, where they gain'd an infinite number of proselytes.

This, in effect, was the method they pursued, notwithstanding the instances of *Theodore Beza* for fresh conferences; and thus ended the colloquy of *Poissi*, of which the calvinist doctors sent every where accounts to their own advantage, which indeed is no more than was to be expected: There was no decree made touching religion; but it was concluded to refer those matters to the decisions of the council of *Trent*.

The best effect resulting from the colloquy of *Poissi*, was, that the king of *Navarre* began in a great measure to shake off his prejudices in behalf of the new reformation, being, in all likelihood, induced to it by the solid dis-

A. D. 1561. discourse of the cardinal of *Lorraine* upon that occasion, and by the inconstancy of the calvinist ministers, who, in diverse points, disagreed among themselves: But as reasons of conscience and religion have not always the whole weight which they ought to have, especially upon the minds of princes, it was necessary that the good disposition, in which the colloquy of *Poissy* had left him, should be seconded by interest.

Lettre de
l'Ambassa-
deur d'Es-
pagne à Phi-
lippe II.

The legate gave him hopes of the restitution of his kingdom of *Navarre*; or, at least, of an equivalent in the kingdom of *Sardinia*; and began the negociation upon this subject in concert with the *Spanish* ambassador. They excited him also, by the jealousy which he had of his brother the prince of *Conde*, who was as much esteem'd among the hugonots, as he was despised by them: By these reasons, and some others to strengthen them, they persuaded him to unite with the triumvirate, to have no farther regard to the hugonots, and to take some steps that might render them irreconcilable with him.

D'Avila l. 2.
A. D. 1562

This unforeseen accident astonished the queen, who, while the king of *Navarre* continued in the same interest with herself, had seem'd to despise the triumvirate: But, upon his changing sides, they became very formidable to her. She made a closer union than ever with the prince of *Conde* and the *Coligni's*, by the advice of the chancellor *de l'Hôpital* and the bishop of *Valence*, and to bind them the stronger to her, she procured a revocation of the edict of *July*, and caused another to be made, which was called the edict of *January*, by which the hugonots were permitted to meet together in the suburbs of the towns, upon condition of their restoring to the catholicks the churches, which they had possession of in the towns themselves.

The *Spanish* ambassador and the legate, being extremely vexed at the great advantage, which this edict gave the hugonots, solicited the king of *Navarre* to get the *Coligni's* banished the court, who were the authors of these pernicious resolutions of the regent, and declared, that his treaty with the king of *Spain* could not be concluded till that was done.

Lettre de
l'Ambassad.
d'Espagne à
Phil. II.
Popeliniere
l. 7.

The king of *Navarre* was very pressing with the queen upon this occasion; but she refused to consent to it, at least, unless the cardinal of *Lorraine*, the duke of *Guise*, and the mareschal de *S. Andre*, were at the same time

time removed as well as the *Coligni's*. Every body was surprized to see that the condition was accepted. The duke of *Guise* went to *Joinville*, the cardinal of *Lorraine* to *Rheims*, and the *Coligni's* to their estates; and the queen with the king left *St. Germans* to go to the palace of *Monceaux* near *Meaux*.

A. D.
1562.

Messieurs de *Guise* and de *Coligni*, were both of opinion, that this step wou'd be no prejudice to their interests. The first left the king of *Navarre* at court, where the legate and the *Spanish* embassador would take care to keep him steady to their party, and the *Coligni's* depended upon the queen, and her apprehensions of the triumvirate, whose authority had already so greatly diminished hers.

In the mean time, the edict of *January* had already caused great disturbances. A world of calvinists, who till then had not dared to own what they were, declared themselves, and went in crowds to sermon. The monks and nuns, weary of their condition, apostatiz'd publicly, pretending a right to enjoy the benefit of the edict as well as others: Many priests and clerks did the same, and went and were married at their congregations.

The license of the hugonots increased daily at *Paris* by the presence of the prince of *Conde*, who had repair'd thither, when the *Coligni's* left the court. The king of *Navarre*, who saw what would be the consequence of this ill example of the capital, resolved to go thither, and to force the prince of *Conde* to depart; but, for greater security, he desired the duke of *Guise* and the constable to repair to *Paris* before him, well attended.

The duke of *Guise* immediately set forward with the cardinal his brother, followed by many of the nobility, and two companies of horse: But he met with an accident in the way, which was the fatal source of the civil war, or rather the occasion of beginning it sooner; for, without this, every thing was ready and prepared for it on both sides.

Being arrived near *Vassy*, a little town in *Champagne*, while he was at mass, some of his servants went out of curiosity to a barn, where six or seven hundred hugonots were actually at worship. Those that kept the door, thought they were come to insult them. Both sides fell reproaching each other, and from words they proceeded

Popeliniere

Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 3.

c. 7
Memoires de
Brantôme.
D'Avila. l. 3.

&c.

A. D. 1562. ceded to blows. Two *German* pages belonging to the duke coming up, discharged an harquebus and pistol or two, with which they killed or wounded some hugonots. The duke hearing the noise, ran out of the church in order to prevent the tumult, and was himself wounded in his face with a stone, by which he was obliged to retire, because he lost much blood. His men seeing him wounded, could not contain themselves; but fell upon the hugonots on all sides, killed above sixty of them, wounded the minister, and put the rest to flight.

The news of the massacre at *Vassy*, as the hugonots were pleased to call it, was spread abroad every where with the most odious circumstances and exaggerations. The ministers in their sermons made it the subject of their most violent invectives. The prince of *Conde*, the admiral, and the chancellor *de l'Hopital* demanded satisfaction for it of the queen; and upon this ground, as an authentick title, the hugonots always accused the duke of *Guise* of being the author of the civil war.

Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 3.

c. 7.
Populiniere
l. 8.

Memoires de
l'etat de
France, sous
Charles IX.
Additions aux
Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 3.

On the other hand, the catholicks, out of their abhorrence to the edict of *January*, applauded the duke. The preachers made publick encomiums upon him in their sermons at *Paris*: And he entred that city with the acclamations of *God bless Guise*, and with the marks of the greatest esteem and the most tender affection. The king of *Navarre* came to join him at *Paris*, as they had agreed, and the prince of *Conde* was obliged to leave the city; but firmly resolved to revenge the affront, and determined from that time to declare himself speedily in such a manner, as should startle his enemies.

The two parties had the same view, to make themselves masters of the king's person. The duke of *Guise*, the connestable and the king of *Navarre*, were at that time the strongest. They obliged the queen to quit *Fontainebleau*, and to follow them to *Paris*, under pretence of securing the prince from the insults and attempts of the hugonots, to which he was exposed at that distance from his capital.

It was not without the utmost grief, that the queen saw herself by that means in the power and under the authority of the triumvirate. She dispatch'd private couriers to the prince of *Conde*, who carried him seven of her letters, in which she exhorted him not to abandon

don the king nor her, at this unhappy juncture. Four of * these letters were afterwards made publick, and very much embarrass'd her.

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In the mean time the prince of *Conde* raised some forces, and, by the help of the hugonots, who were in great numbers at *Orleans*, surpriz'd that city, and made himself master of it on the 12th of *April*. He prevented the plunder of the houses; but either could not or would not defend the churches from the violence of the soldiers and the hugonot citizens. These were pillaged, the images broken down, and the altars overthrown.

• Popeliniere, l. 8.

A stroke of such an important and hostile nature, was look'd upon as a declaration of war; the catholics were within an inch of putting the hugonots, at *Paris*, to the sword: but the connestable prevented it, and contented himself with driving the hugonot ministers out of the town, and causing the meeting which they had at *Popincourt*, to be pulled down.

It must be about this time, that the triumvirate enter'd into a conspiracy against the queen. They were resolved to carry her off, in order to deprive her of the tuition of the king; but she had notice of it from the legate, and set out early the next morning, with the prince, for the forest of *Vincennes*, under pretence of giving him the diversion of deer-hunting; and after some days continuance there, she carried him to *Monceaux*. She escaped some other snares also, and being returned to *Paris*, kept her self always very much upon her guard.

Brantôme dans l' éloge de Catharine de Medicis.

Memoires de Nevers.

In the mean time the prince of *Conde* was join'd by a great number of hugonots, that resorted to him from all the provinces of *France*, and publish'd a manifesto, * which he sent to all parts of the kingdom, and to the protestant princes of *Germany*, in which having aggravated the affair of *Vass*, the violation of the edict of *January*, the seizure of the king, whom the triumvirate, as he said, kept prisoner with the queen, he protested, That he had recourse to arms, for no other reason, but that he might not be oppress'd, and to deliver the king from the captivity in which he was detained; and laid the blame of the war upon the duke of *Guise*, and his party.

• Dated from Orleans on the 8th of April. Diverses lettres du prince de Conde.

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1562.

† Dated Apr.
11 1562.

In expectation of the effect of this manifesto, he sign'd an association, † with the lords, gentlemen, and officers, that were come to join him; in which they swore obedience to him, till such time as the king came of age, and promised to serve him for the good of the king, queen, and kingdom, at the expence of their lives and fortunes.

These declarations were answered by the triumvirate, and particularly by the duke of *Guise*: all which tended to no other end, but to amuse the people, while the whole kingdom began to be in a flame by the revolt of the hugonots, who, in the space of some weeks, made themselves masters of *Blois*, *Tours*, *Poitiers*, *Angers*, *Châlons upon Saône*, *Mâcon*, *Rockelle*, *Roan*, *Dieppe*, *Havre*, *Bourges*, *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Montpellier*, *Nantes*, *Besiers*, *Agen*, *Lyons*, *Grenoble*, *Valence*, and several other cities. The *Cevenes* and *Vivarez* revolted; and if *Montluc* had not succoured the catholicks of *Toulouse*, that also had fallen into the hands of the hereticks, as well as the others. A great number of lords and gentlemen declared openly for the prince of *Conde*, and carried troops to him.

The revolts, which in so many places followed the taking of *Orleans*, and the news of which arrived one after another, roused the court, and obliged them to take speedy measures for the remedying such great disorders; and as more especial care was to be taken for the security of *Paris*, while they went in quest of the rebels, which was resolved upon, the government of this capital was committed to the mareschal de *Brissac*.

Comment.
de Montluc.
l. 3.

The duke d' *Aumale* was sent into *Normandy* with some forces, the Duke de *Montpensier* into *Tourain*; *Montluc* into *Guyenne* and *Gascony*; and *Crussol* into *Languedoc*; these being the Provinces most in danger.

The army, which was designed to march against the prince of *Conde*, drew up about *Paris*. It consisted of 4000 horse, most of whom were gentlemen, and 6000 foot, all well disciplined soldiers, besides some *Swiss* regiments, that were to join them, and waited for their orders, upon the confines of *Burgundy*.

The king of *Navarre* having left the king at *Vincennes*, and M. de *Vieilleville* with him, put himself at the head of this army, attended with a good artillery, and having

having the duke of *Guise*, and the connestable, under his command, he marched to *Orleans*, and the king followed him to this expedition. A. D.
1562.

He found the prince of *Conde*, and the admiral, intrench'd four leagues from *Orleans*. The difficulty of forcing them in their camp, confounded the king of *Navarre*. The queen took the opportunity of this conjuncture, to propose a negotiation, which at first was rendered useless, by the exorbitant demands of the prince of *Conde*, equally to the prejudice of the duke of *Guise*, and the connestable, and to the advantage of the hugonots. But this stiffness abated, and he gave them to understand, That provided the duke, and the connestable, would consent to remove from court, he wou'd resolve to do the same himself, and lay down his arms.

The queen pressed them to comply with the terms, for the good of the state ; and when they had conferred together, they resolved to agree to them; thoroughly persuaded, from the knowledge which they had of the hugonot spirit, and character of the heads of that party, that they would either refuse to conclude, or not observe the treaty ; in which case, their conduct would appear visibly faulty, and the injustice of their arms would be known to all *Europe*, and consequently, they themselves would be authorized to return to court, and resume their seat in council, which they had filled with persons intirely at their devotion, and such as, in concert with the king of *Navarre*, opposed the queen's enterprizes during their absence.

The queen having drawn this promise from them, and that they would quit the court and the army first, kept the affair very secret, and sent the bishop of *Valence*, and *Robertet*, secretary of state, to the prince of *Conde*, who had removed the camp to *Baugency*. He was surprized at this resolution of the duke of *Guise*, and the connestable ; but as he could not believe that they would proceed to the execution of it, he made no difficulty to promise on his side, to lay down his arms, and depart the kingdom, in case that these lords first quitted the army.

Upon their report, *Robertet* was sent back to the prince's camp, to let him know, that the duke, and the connestable, were just set out for *Chateaudun*, from

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whence they would retire to their own houses, or else to their governments, as soon as he should dismiss his troops, and submit to the king. At the same time he proposed an interview between the prince of *Conde*, and the queen, to finish the affair.

The prince of *Conde* was greatly embarrassed upon this occasion. The principal lords of the army, and the hugonot ministers, offered him some very convincing reasons against laying down his arms; to which he had nothing to oppose, but the promise that he had given to the contrary: To which the admiral replied, That in an affair of this nature, it was not reasonable he should govern himself by vain scruples; that upon such occasions, success justified the cause; and it was his opinion, that the army should march directly to surprize the king's forces, which, in all likelihood, would not be upon their guard.

This advice was approved by several, but not by the prince, who, notwithstanding the extravagancy of his ambition, was incapable of such a piece of treachery. At length, after proposing several expedients, to extricate him out of this difficulty, and save his honour, it was determined, that he should agree to the queen's demand of an interview; that during the conference, the principal officers that attended him, should counterfeited a revolt; that in the bustle, they should beset him, and carry him off, in order to force him back to the camp; and that his honour being secured by this pretended violence, he should protest to the queen, that it was no longer in his power to perform his promise.

He went to wait upon the queen at *Baugency*, where the comedy was acted in the manner before concerted: The conference was broke up, and the prince carried back to his camp, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and, to take the opportunity of the warmth and zeal with which his men were fired upon that occasion, he resolved to attack the royal army, which was incamped at *Talsi*.

He enter'd upon his march on the twelfth of *July*, in the evening, and, as the connestable, and the duke of *Guise*, had left the army, would certainly have succeeded by the surprize, had not his guides misled him,

him, and thereby given the king of *Navarre* time to range his forces in order of battle.

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The prince of *Conde* finding the enemy prepared, did not think it adviseable to attack them, because, excepting 6000 Gascons, which the earl de *Grammont* had brought him, he had but very indifferent troops. The king of *Navarre*, on the other hand, thought it his best way to linger out the time, in hopes of seeing the prince's army disband, which was not payed, and was very ill provided.

They fired at each other, and after some little skirmishes, the prince of *Conde* retir'd, to go and encamp at *Lorges*, about a league's distance.

In the mean time, the duke of *Guise*, and the constable, being inform'd of the rupture of the treaty, return'd to the army, which was soon after reinforced with 6000 *Swiss*, and ten troops of *German* cavalry, under the command of count *Rhingrave*. The prince of *Conde*, upon this news, divided his army, posting part of it at *Orleans*, and the rest in some other towns of the *Loire*; till the arrival of the succours, which he was in hopes of obtaining from the protestant princes of *Germany*, to whom *d'Andelot* was sent upon this message. He dispatch'd several lords also into the provinces, to maintain his party there; and himself, with the admiral, *Genlis*, and *Bouchavanes*, shut themselves up in *Orleans*, in order to defend it, if the king should come to attack it.

The division of the prince of *Conde*'s army caused a great desertion among the soldiers, and the decrees of the parliament of *Paris* against the rebels, for the confiscation of the lands and benefices of all such as refused to partake of the amnesty granted by the king, made several hugonot gentlemen return to their habitations.

These decrees were so much the more effectual, as *Popeliniere* the generals of the royal army began to act with more vigour. They made as if they were going to besiege *Orleans*, but fell suddenly upon the adjacent towns, where they hoped to find less resistance. *Blois* was taken by storm, and pillaged, which example caused *Tours* to surrender: *Poitiers* was subdued by the marshal *de S. Andre*; *Angers* was surprized by *Puy-Gail-*

Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 3.
chap. 11.

A. D. 1562. *land*, and at length they laid siege to *Bourges*, whither the king came in person.

Yvoy, brother of *Genlis*, an excellent foldier, commanded a numerous garrison there, and made a vigorous defence; but seeing no prospect of succour, he surrendered by capitulation about the end of *August*.

After this conquest, a council was held, to deliberate upon the next expedition. The connestable, and the duke of *Guise*, were for besieging *Orleans*: but the queen insisted upon that of *Roan*, for the reasons following.

Briquemaunt had also been sent into *England* by the prince of *Conde*, and had concluded a treaty with queen *Elizabeth*, by which that princess engaged herself to support the hugonot party with all her forces, upon condition, that they would deliver up to her, for the security of her troops, *Havre de Grace*; and that she should not be obliged to resign it, 'till such time as the prince of *Conde* had procured for her the restitution of *Calais*. The queen, who was greatly incensed against the prince of *Conde* for this treaty, represented, That, if they should undertake the siege of *Orleans*, the queen of *England* would have time to transport as many forces as she pleased into *Normandy*, and would infallibly seize that whole province, after which the king would be no longer safe at *Paris*. This reason determined the connestable, and the duke of *Guise*, to agree to the proposal which she made of the siege of *Roan*.

The army marched thither, and came within sight of the city on the 25th of *September*: but how expeditious soever they were, they could not prevent the earl of *Montgomery*, who commanded the hugonot forces in *Lower Normandy*, from entering the town to defend it. The *English* had already been received in *Havre* and *Dieppe*, and 2000 soldiers of this nation had entred *Roan*, by whose arrival, the garrison was grown very numerous, besides a great number of hugonot inhabitants, whom they ranged in companies.

The siege began with attacking the fort of *St. Catherine*, where *Mommiens* commanded. He was an officer of great reputation, and was extremely troublesome to the besiegers at first, by the frequent and vigorous sallies which he made: but his vigilance

Traité de
Hampton -
court, du 20
Septembre
1562. au re-
cueil de trai-
te's par Leo-
nard, T. 2.

Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 3.
c. 12.

was not answerable to his valour. News was brought, that most of the officers and soldiers were gone to divert themselves in the city for the middle of the day, upon which the duke of *Guise*, and the connestable ordered ladders to be prepared, and before any breach was made, caused several bands to march openly at noon-day, and present the scalade. *Monniens* acted his part perfectly well, but not being able to attend every where at the same time, and having no body to make opposition in several different places, where he was attack'd, the besiegers forced him, and made themselves masters of the fort, without losing any one man of distinction, excepting the count de *Rendan*, who was wounded with the splinter of a grenade, and died some days after, of the mortification caused by it.

A. D.

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D'Avila, l. 3.

The taking of the fort of *St. Catherine* greatly advanc'd the siege, because the mountain upon which the fort was situated, commanded the town, and faced part of the streets, where they killed a world of people; but *Montgomery* however did not lose his courage, and having received a new supply of *English*, by the river, he was resolv'd to defend himself to the last extremity.

The trench was carried on to the foss of port *St. Hilary*, the counterscarp gain'd, and a great breach made in the wall; and they were preparing to give the assault, when an unfortunate accident oblig'd them to forbear. The king of *Navarre* was wounded with the shot of an *harquebuss*, which broke his shoulder-bone all to pieces. The wound was judg'd mortal by the chirurgions, and he died of it, after the taking of the town, in the 45th year of his age. He was a prince, whose courage, which he inherited in common with all the princes of the *Bourbon* family, was answerable to the rank his birth had rais'd him to: but it was happy for *France*, and for religion, that his valour was not supported with sufficient resolution and ambition, when he was at the head of the hugonot party.

Montgomery vigorously sustain'd an assault upon the rampart near port *St. Hilary*; but was forced, upon a second attempt, and the town pillaged. Seeing every thing lost, he went aboard a galley, which he kept

Memoires de
Castellau, l.
3. c. 13.

A. D. ready in the wharf, and gained *Havre*, with several other officers.

1562.

Brantôme di-
scourses des
Colonels.

The king and queen entered *Roan* by the breach, together with the parliament, that had fled to *Louviers* after the revolt of the hugonots. The city having been sufficiently punished by pillage, the king contented himself with making three or four examples of some magistrates and citizens, and of the minister *Marlorat*, who was sent to the gallows. The duke of *Guise* procured a pardon for several officers of the army, and particularly for *Menniens*, who had been wounded with an harquebuss in his thigh.

Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 3.
c. 13.

During the time that *Roan* was taking, and after it, the commanders of the King's forces had recovered almost all the towns of *Normandy* that were in the possession of the hugonots and *English*, and *Havre* was the only considerable post they had left in *Normandy*. The royal party was not in a condition to force them, but they sent some troops thither, under the command of count *Rhingrave*, and the sieur *Castelnau Mauvissiere*, to block them up.

The success of the king's arms would have demolish'd the prince of *Conde's* party, if he had not receiv'd a succour from *Germany*, which help'd him to stand upon his legs. *D'Andelot*, as I observed before, was sent upon this message to the courts of several protestant princes; and *James Spifame*, formerly bishop of *Nevers*, was another of the prince of *Conde's* agents, with the emperor *Ferdinand*, at the diet of *Frankfort*, whither that prince was come to get his son *Maximilian* recogniz'd king of the *Romans*. *Spifame*, after his apostacy, called himself Monsieur de *Passy*, from the name of an estate belonging to his family; as the cardinal de *Châtillon*, when he had openly declared himself a hugonot, took the title of Count de *Beauvais*, from the name of the city that he had been bishop of.

Bernardin Rochetel, bishop of *Rennes*, was also constantly resident at the emperor's court, to prevent his countenancing the attempts that were on foot, to raise forces in *Germany* for the hugonots, and to prevail with him not to oppose those which were carrying on in favour of the catholicks. *Spifame* strenuously opposed his negotiation, representing to the emperor,

that

that the triumvirate kept the king and queen as prisoners; in proof of which, he published the queen's letters to the prince of *Conde*, written at the time when the duke of *Guise*, and the connestable, came to seize the king at *Fontainbleau*. The publication of these letters, which the queen had charged the prince of *Conde* to make a great secret of, rendered her irreconcilable to him. She wrote in vindication of herself to the duchess of *Lorrain*, and drew up postscripts to the letters in controversy, in order to give them a favourable interpretation; and with these postscripts they were dispersed abroad in the world.

A. D.
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lettre de la
Reine à la
Duchesse, du
5. de Dec-
embre.

The emperor, who thought to make his advantage of the troubles of *France*, heard the envoys of both parties without declaring for either of them; and by this conduct left both the one and the other at liberty to levy forces in *Germany*.

D'Andelot had raised 3000 *Reisters*, and 4000 *Lansquenets*, who were commanded by the mareschal of *Hesse*. The duke of *Nevers*, and the mareschal de *St. Andre*, were upon the march to intercept this recruit; but *D'Andelot* conducted them with such skill and expedition, that he arrived at *Orleans* on the sixth of *November*. Two thousand soldiers, levied by some hugonot gentlemen, had join'd him upon the road, so that the army, at their arrival, appeared to be 9000 strong.

Popeliniere.
l. 6.

The Baron de *Duras*, who was bringing a body of 6000 men to the prince of *Conde*, from *Guyenne*, was not so successful in his march, being attack'd at *Ver*, in *Perigott*, by *Montluc* and *Burie*, the king's lieutenants in *Guyennè*, and entirely defeated; two thousand men were killed upon the spot, and the rest dispersed, or knock'd at the head by the peasants. By this victory the duke of *Montpensier*, whom the court had sent to command in *Guyenne*, and who upon his arrival met with such agreeable news, became master of that principality.

Comment. de
Montluc. l. 4.

The prince of *Conde* having receiv'd the recruit that *D'Andelot* brought him, left this lord at *Orleans*, and set out with his army for *Paris*. He seiz'd some small towns upon the road, and was repulsed at *Corbeil* by colonel *Coffeins*, who gave the mareschal de *St. Andre* time to come up with a succour. The prince

Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 4.
a. 3.

A. D. arrived within sight of *Paris* on the 24th of *November*.
1562.

He attack'd the Suburbs of *St. Victor*, and prevailed at first: but the duke of *Guise* coming up, repulsed him. After this, he made some other useless attempts, in which his army received much injury from the city cannon. At length, having made as if he design'd to block it up, he consented to a conference of the queen's proposing.

D'Avila l. 3.

They met several times, but could come to no agreement, and the prince of *Conde* being unable to subsist his army any longer about *Paris*, was obliged to withdraw to *la Beausse*: but before decamping, he had the misfortune to see himself deserted by *Genlis*, one of his best officers, who, with several gentlemen, came and surrendred to the king. The outrage of the hugonots upon his brother *Yvoy*, whom they accused of having made too hasty a capitulation for the surrendry of *Bourges*, and the dissatisfaction which the prince of *Conde* shew'd upon that occasion, were the reasons that determin'd *M. de Genlis* to abandon the party.

D'Avila, l. 3.

This prince had also some time before lost the marshal *de Montmorenci*, who had always been in his interests: but as soon as the marshal perceiv'd that the hugonot faction were resolv'd upon war, he quitted him, and returned to court.

Memoires de
Castelnau, l.
4. c. 4.

The prince of *Conde* decamped from before *Paris* on the 10th of *December*. As soon as it was known that he was upon his march, the connestable, and the duke of *Guise*, followed him at the head of the catholick army.

The prince's design was to go to *Normandy*, in order to join some *English* troops, and receive the money which queen *Elizabeth* had sent him. The two armies approached very near each other upon the sixteenth day of the month; and upon the eighteenth, in the evening, the connestable pass'd the river *Eure* hard by them, without the prince of *Conde*, or the admiral, knowing any thing of the matter.

The next day, being the nineteenth, the prince of *Conde*, entring upon his march, in pursuance of his design'd journey, was advertised by his scouts, that the catholick army was ranged in battle array, and waited for him upon the great road, by which he was to pass; and

and as there was no way to avoid the battle, he prepared himself for it.

A. D.
1562.

The royal army consisted of about thirteen or fourteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse. That of the prince, which was much inferior to it, for the infantry, being not above seven or eight thousand strong, exceeded it in cavalry, whether we regard the number, which amounted to four thousand horse, or the goodness of the troops, of which it was composed.

The connestable had only the mareschal *de St. Andre* for lieutenant general; for the duke of *Guise*, who had no title to command in an army where the connestable, and a mareschal of *France*, were present, had declared, That he would fight only as captain of his company of gendarmes: But he was obliged to accept the command of the rear, at the connestable's intreaty.

This general advanced with the corps de bataille, between the villages of *Epinay* and *Blainville*, with which his flanks were covered, and made a front of about fourteen or fifteen hundred foot. The mareschal *de S. Andre* form'd the right wing on the other side the village of *Epinay*. The duke of *Guise* had the left wing, which was much weaker than the two other bodies, and placed himself on the other side of *Blainville*. It appears from the accounts of this battle, that these two wings were at a great distance from the corps de bataille, which, doubtless, was owing to the situation of the country. This was the disposition of the catholick army, when the prince, and the admiral, at the head of their troops, divided into two bodies, met them contrary to their expectation.

The two armies continued in sight of each other for near two hours, without the least skirmish, or any detachment of perdues, contrary to the custom of those times, and at last joined battle, without any prelude or introduction.

Discourses politiques & militaires du Sieur de la Noue.

The connestable prepared himself, and gave such seasonable orders for a discharge of the artillery, that the first squadrons of the Reisters were broken, and fled to a valley for shelter.

The prince of *Conde*, either to remedy this disorder, or to entice the connestable farther out into the field, drew back a little to the left, as if he had been marching

A. D. marching to the village of *Treon*, and by this movement found himself upon a line with the mareschal de *S. Andre*, though at a great distance from him, and the admiral opposite to the connestable, who ordered the *Swiss* to advance with some squadrons to pursue the prince, and prevent his escaping, which was an unfortunate step to the connestable, and, in the conclusion, to the prince himself.

1562.

For this prince, seeing the *Swiss* in open field, far from the village that sheltered them, turned upon them, ordered *Movy* and *d'Avaret* to fall upon the flank with a party of horse, and followed himself, with almost all his cavalry, without considering what might happen to the infantry, that he had left behind.

The first was a very bloody onset. The *Swiss* received the cavalry with all possible resolution: But were routed after a vigorous resistance.

Monsieur *Damville*, who commanded the light horse of the connestable his father, came up with some squadrons, to put a stop to this first fury; but was broken by the *Reisters*, and lost his brother *Gabriel de Montmorenci*, baron of *Montbron*, the connestable's fourth son, in the attack.

While the prince was charging the *Swiss*, upon the right of the connestable's army, the admiral, with the prince of *Porcien*, attack'd him upon the left, routed seven or eight companies of gendarmes, and entirely defeated the *French* infantry. In this engagement, the connestable had his horse killed under him; and being

Lettre de la
Reine à l'E-
vêque de
Rennes, du
23. de De-
cembre,
1562.

remounted by the baron *d'Oraison*, lieutenant of the gendarmes, who gave him his horse, he was wounded in the face by a pistol-shot, and at last taken prisoner by the *Sieur de Buffy*.

The defeat of the corps de bataille was absolute, excepting that the *Swiss* constantly rallied, and retreated sword in hand to the right wing of the mareschal de *S. Andre*, to the admiration of both armies.

While matters were going thus in the corps de bataille, the mareschal de *S. Andre* moved forward in order, and without precipitation; designing to make good use of the mistake which the prince of *Conde* had committed; in charging with almost all his cavalry, and leaving but very few horse with the infantry.

The duke of *Guise*, who, upon the same motives march'd slowly, was the first in a condition to attack the infantry, at the head of some companies of gendarmes, and light horse. Being come within the reach of an harquebus, he ordered four pieces of artillery to be discharged upon some few squadrons, that were left with the infantry; and immediately after, fell upon them and dissipated them. At the same time, the mareschal de *S. Andre* having made a sudden turn to the left, posted himself between the prince of *Conde's* cavalry, engaged in the pursuit of the fugitives of the corps de bataille, and his infantry, which the duke of *Guise* cut in pieces. He fell, at the same time, upon a company of Reisters, and upon a batallion of Lansquenets, which had hitherto kept their ground, and defeated them, without suffering his own men to disband and pursue them.

The prince of *Conde*, who had thought himself sure of the victory, by the total defeat of the connestable, was greatly surprized to understand, that the mareschal was come to charge him in form of battle. And scarce was he able to draw up two hundred horse, about his person, so that he was obliged to think of making a retreat; but had not gone above three hundred paces, when his horse being wounded in his leg by an harquebus, stopp'd short; and in the very instant that another was brought to him, *Damville* arrived with a body of gendarmes, surrounded him, and came up to him with his sword drawn, calling upon him to surrender.

The prince being abandon'd by his men, and hindred from making his defence, by a wound he had received in his hand; delivered up his sword to him, and made himself his prisoner. Nothing could have been more fortunate, or more glorious for that lord, than this prize; which made him amends for the loss of the connestable his father, and secured him an exchange for his liberty.

The mareschal pursued his course, and was soon join'd by the duke of *Guise*. They marched together to disperse some remains of the cavalry, that still appeared behind a copice-wood; but they did not succeed so easily as they expected. It was the admiral, who had rallied twelve or thirteen hundred horse, partly *French*

A.D.
1562.



Popeliniers

and

A.D. 1562. and partly German. He had placed himself at their head, with the prince of *Porcien* and the earl *de la Rochefoucaur*, and was posted at the village of *Blainville*, where the first battle was fought.

The duke of *Guise* seeing them in such good order, stopp'd at the mill of *Maumontel*, and sent for some battallions of *French* veterans, commanded by the young count *de Brissac*, and some *Spanish* battallions under the command of the viscount *de Martigues*, to advance with all speed.

The admiral could not come at him, without being exposed to the fire of this infantry: But notwithstanding that, he march'd up, and charged the duke of *Guise*, some of whose squadrons gave ground, and obliged him to return to the battallions, to rally them under the shelter of their fire-shot.

At the beginning of this new attack, the mareschal *de S. Andre's* horse being killed under him, a gentleman named *Baubigni*, his mortal enemy, and the forfeiture of whose estate he is said to have obtain'd from the king, shot him through the head with a pistol.

Brantôme
dans l' éloge
du mareschal
de S. Andre.

In the mean time, the admiral being overwhelmed with the fire of the infantry, was obliged to abandon his design, and retreated sword in hand: The night coming on, hindred the duke of *Guise* from pursuing him. He repair'd to *Neuville*, two leagues from the field of battle, carrying with him part of the baggage and artillery by the benefit of the dark.

Such was the issue of the battle of *Dreux*, which lasted above five hours, and was so called from this town, because it lay nearest the place where it was fought.

The catholick army cannot be denied the honour of the victory, since they remained masters of the field of battle, of a part of the hugonots baggage and artillery, and took 1400 prisoners of the single nation of *Germany*, who were most of them *Lansquenets*.

Popeliniere,
l. 9,

As for the slain, the duke of *Guise* declared, in the presence of the *Sieur de Castelnau*, as he relates the matter in his *Memoirs*, that they amounted to eight or nine thousand on one side, or the other. The queen, in a letter

* Dated December 25, 1562.

to her embassador at the emperor's court, makes them six or seven thousand. The loss was very near equal on both sides, only there was this difference, that the hugonot

gonot infantry and the catholick cavalry suffered most. A great number of the nobility perished on both sides.

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Notwithstanding the mareschal de *S. Andre* had a great share in the victory, yet, as he was dead, all the glory of it was ascribed to the duke of *Guise*, who indeed behaved himself upon this occasion as a great officer, laying hold upon the favourable moment which the prince of *Conde's* uncautious conduct afforded him, to repair the defeat of the corps de bataille.

But nothing gain'd him greater honour, than the noble and generous treatment he gave the prince of *Conde*, who was the greatest enemy he had in the world. He paid him all the honours due to his birth, pitied his misfortune, and desired his friendship. They supped together; and as the confusion they were in after the battle, was such, that the duke had but one bed in his apartment, they lay both together that night.

The news of the victory was carried to court by the *Sieur de Loffe*, and was so much the more agreeable, because those which had fled after the defeat of the connestable, had brought an account, that every thing was lost.

The court removed to *Rambouillet*, whither the duke of *Guise* was sent for, and gave the king and queen a particular account of the battle, and commended the connestable, the mareschal de *S. Andre*, and the other lords that had had a share in the victory. Nor did he speak in less courteous terms of the prince of *Conde*, and the admiral; mentioning himself only as an officer, who not having the general command, had also no other part in the victory, than many others that had done their duty.

Castelnau,
l. 4. c. 16.

The king and queen supplied the duke's modesty, by the praises they heaped upon him, and obliged him, even against his will, to accept the command of the army in the absence of the connestable.

He gave orders to pursue the admiral with all speed, who having drawn together the broken remains of his army, and continued some time in order of battle, at some distance from *Neuville*, appearing, as if he designed to attempt a second engagement, turned his course to *Dangeau*, where all the officers acknowledged him general of the hugonot army. From thence he set out

Popeliniere;
l. 9.

for *Orleans*, whither he ordered the connestable to be carried, and put into the hands of the princess of *Conde*,

A. D. 1562. to whom a prisoner of this consequence was a great consolation, during the captivity of her husband: But, before we speak of the duke of *Guise's* transactions afterwards, I shall touch upon the particulars that happen'd in several provinces of *France*, during the course of this year, and of the designs form'd by foreign princes, to advance their own interests, by the troubles into which the kingdom was plunged.

Besides *Normandy*, where I have already related what pass'd before and after the siege of *Roan*, *Burgundy*, *Languedoc*, *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, *Guyenne*, *Dauphiny*, and *Provence*, were the places most aggrieved by both parties.

Castelnau,
l. 4. c. 2.

The cities of *Châlons* and *Macon* were retaken from the hugonots, by monsieur de *Tavannes*, afterwards mareschal of *France*. The hugonot faction was very much sunk on that side: It was better supported in *Provence*, in the *Lyonnois*, and in the adjacent countries, by the conduct of *Mouvans*, and *Montbrun*, and still more, by the vivacity of the baron des *Adrets*, who made himself very formidable. He was, it is said, the *Montluc* of the hugonots, and the queen once affirm'd, that if he had done as much for the king, as he had done against him, she would have procured him the mareschal's staff of *France*.

Brantôme
dans l'Éloge
de Montluc.

That in which these two officers were most alike, was the hatred which one of them bore to the catholicks, and the other to the hugonots, but, with this difference, that though neither of them would give quarter, *Montluc's* severity was not attended with such brutal and treacherous actions, as was that of the baron des *Adrets*; actions not fit to be used even among the most exasperated enemies.

Popeliniere
l. 9.

Alart vie du
Baron des
Adrets.

This baron surpriz'd *Valence* and *Lyons*, retook several towns, which the count de *Sura* had brought under the king's obedience: but the prince of *Conde* detesting the cruelties exercised by him, reproved him for them, and sent M. de *Soubise* to command in his stead in the *Lyonnois*; for all this was transacted before the battle of *Dreux*. This affront provoked him to the last extremity, and put him upon the thoughts of changing sides: but his design being discovered, he was seized by *Mouvans*, and it would, in all likelihood, have

have cost him his life, if it had not been for the peace, *A. D.*
that was made some time after.

1562.

Poitou, Languedoc and Xaintonge, were also the seat of war; but with different success: Nor was it the *French* alone, who had contributed to the ruin of their country; the allies of *France*, and those of her neighbours, that affected to appear the most zealous for her preservation, had no other design but to aggrandize themselves by her misfortunes.

The duke of *Savoy* was very intent upon the recovery of *Turin, Pignerol*, and some other towns retained by *France*, pursuant to the treaty of *Cateau-Cambresis*, 'till such time as the king's pretensions to some states of *Savoy*, in right of *Louisa* of *Savoy*, mother of *Francis I.* were cleared up. This wise prince, who knew well they were afraid of him at that conjuncture, made pressing instances to terminate the affair, and carried his point. *Turin* and the other towns were delivered up to him, excepting *Pignerol, Savillan* and *Perouse*.

Guichenon
Hist. de Sa-
voye.

The emperor, after the example of the duke of *Savoy*, made a like demand some time after for the restitution of *Metz, Toul* and *Verdun*. The queen diverted the blow, by proposing a marriage between the king and *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, and grand-daughter to the emperor, which was actually compleated some years after.

Le Labreur
additions aux
Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 3.

There was no less reason to be afraid of the king of *Spain*: But it was upon a very different account. He made no pretensions to the domains of *France*; on the contrary, he furnished the king with some forces, which were present at the battle of *Dreux*, and performed their duty well; but *Chantonay*, his ambassador, privately encouraged the division, and used all his application to foment the civil war.

All these reasons inspired the queen with a great desire for peace; but she was not mistress. The duke of *Guise*, after the battle of *Dreux*, had gain'd such an authority, that every thing was carried in council by his advice. He was for taking advantage of the victory to ruine the rebels; and notwithstanding the rigor of the season, he insisted upon besieging *Orleans*, the taking of which appeared to him the decisive blow, which would carry along with it the entire destruction of calvinism; and accordingly the siege was concluded upon.

The

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1562.

The preparations which he made for so great an enterprise, discovered his design to the admiral, who had taken up his quarters in *la Beausse* and *Sologne*. He put a large garison into the town; and *d'Andelot* his brother, with *Saint Cyr*, who was governor of it, *d'Avaret*, *Duras*, and *Bouchavanes*, undertook the defence of it.

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As soon as the duke of *Guise* had disposed every thing for the siege of this town, he went to join his army, consisting almost all of infantry; because the country could afford but little forage. He re-took *Etampes* in the way, and some other small towns, passed the river at *Baugenci*, came in sight of *Orleans* on the 5th of *February*, and incamped between *Olivet* and *S. Aubin*, in *Sologne*.

A few days after he attacked the intrenchments, which the besieged had made in the suburbs of *Porte-reau*, which is on the other side the bridge of *Orleans*, made himself master of them, and killed or took most of the hugonot soldiers.

He had laid his scheme so well, that notwithstanding the valour of the commanders, and the resolution of the citizens and garrison, he depended upon having the town within less than fifteen days: But this fine prospect, which presaged a speedy end of the civil war, was prevented by an unlucky accident: I mean, the assassination of the duke of *Guise*, whom a traitor, named *Politrot*, a young gentleman of *Angoumois*, wounded mortally with a pistol shot, when he returned from his quarters on the 18th of *February* in the evening. The wound did not appear to be mortal at first, but the bullets were poison'd, and the duke died seven days after.

Castelnau,
l. 4. c. 10.

This death was an irreparable loss to religion and the state. He was one of the greatest men that had long appeared in *France*, and with many virtues had very few faults. The assassin was seized, and some time after quarter'd at *Paris*. Upon his examination, he vehemently accused the Admiral, *Theodore Beza*, *Feuquieres* and *Brion*; and all the Admiral could do, was not sufficient to remove the suspicions, which the publick had of so black an action, and which tended very much to darken his reputation.

As soon as the king and queen, who were at *Blois*, heard of the duke's misfortune, they came to the camp, and

and this princess shew'd him much sincerer marks of her grief, than she had done some time before, when she was much more apprehensive of his great power, than afraid of the hugonots. She declared her thoughts to him upon the situation of affairs, and advised him to endeavour a peace, in order to remove the foreigners out of the kingdom.

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Both sides were well disposed to embrace it. The siege of *Orleans* was far advanced, and the mareschal de *Brissac* had orders to finish it, in case the peace was not concluded. The princess of *Conde*, who had had the greatest hand in persuading her husband to the civil war, was at *Orleans*, and afraid of being taken there, and of seeing the constable her prisoner wrested out of her hands; in which case she had all the reason in the world to be afraid, both of her own life and that of her husband's. The prince of *Conde* also was inclined to peace for the same reasons. The queen was in hopes of governing with full authority upon a peace, being delivered from the triumvirate by the death of the king of *Navarre*, the duke of *Guise*, and the mareschal de *S. Andre*. Thus all sides concurring in the same view, a conference was held, and a peace at last concluded.

The chief articles were, That the hugonots should be allowed a meeting in every bayliwick without the towns, and one or two within those towns, of which they were actually masters: But that they should not make use of the churches either for their devotions or assemblies.

That all hugonot gentlemen having high jurisdiction, or a tenure by knights service, should be at liberty to exercise their religion in their houses with their vassals.

Edit du Roy
daté d'Am-
boise le 19.
Mars 1563. &
enregistré au
Parlement de
Paris le 27.

That the pretended reformed religion should, in no respect, be practised in the city of *Paris*, or in the provostship. Thus far was stipulated upon the article of religion.

The remaining articles were, That all the foreign soldiers should speedily depart *France*; and that the towns taken by the hugonots should be restored to the king; and that the king should grant a general pardon.

That the heads of the hugonot party should not, upon pain of death, make any future treaty with foreigners. nor levy money of the king's subjects.

A. D. 1563. The edict which the king published upon this subject, was, after great opposition, registred at *Paris*, and in the other parliaments.

The admiral used all his endeavours to cross the negotiation, the success of which tended to degrade him from the high rank he held among his party, which he had very much strengthened in *Normandy*, whither he had repaired, and made himself master of *Caen*, the most considerable town, next to *Roan*, in the whole province : But the prince of *Conde* having frankly declared, that he would abandon the hugonots, if they refused the accommodation ; and having laid before the admiral, the opportunities which his quality of prince of the blood gave him, of protecting the hugonots, when he should be restored to a seat in the king's council, which was promised him in the place of the late king of *Navarre* his brother, that lord was under a necessity of submitting.

As soon as the treaty was signed, the connestable and the prince of *Conde* were set at liberty, and this prince himself, upon the admiral's arrival, presented him to the queen. *Orleans* was restored into the king's hands ; and it appeared that the prince of *Conde* acted *bonâ fide* for the restitution of the other revolted towns, which were surrendered by their commanders upon the orders which he sent them. He also dismissed the *Germans*.

The queen took the advantage of this happy disposition, in which she found the prince of *Conde*, and having greatly commended him for the readiness and zeal he had shewn for the tranquillity of the state ; she made a proposal to him of besieging *Havre*, and driving the *English* out of it. He consented : But first they desired the queen of *England* to withdraw her troops, since she had herself declared by a publick instrument, when the war began, that she had placed a garrison there for no other reason, but to preserve it for the king.

She had never any intention to surrender it, and upon the demanding it, she answer'd, That the treaty of *Chateau-Cambresis* was not performed, inasmuch as *Calais* had not been restored to her after the time appointed, nor the equivalent, promised in case of non-restitution ;
and

and that therefore, she should keep *Havre*, 'till such time as this article of the treaty should be executed. She began the first hostilities, by detaining *Paul de Foix* ambassador of *France* in *England*, by seizing all the *French* ships in her ports, and by giving orders to her privateers to take all the merchant-ships, as well those belonging to the catholicks as the calvinists.

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As they foresaw this conduct of queen *Elizabeth*, they had made preparations for the siege of *Havre*, while they waited for her answer. The catholick and hugonot troops soon drew up with so much concert, that they seemed to have laid aside their mutual aversion for each other, to think only of the common good of the country.

The marshals of *Brissac* and of *Montmorenci*, and the connestable, who were to command the army, repaired thither, and were join'd a few days after by the prince of *Conde*. The queen thought proper that the king himself should be present at this expedition, as well as his brother *Henry* duke of *Anjou*.

The siege began on the 20th of *July*. The earl of *Warwick* commanded a garrison there of 6000 Men; for he had abandoned all the other towns to preserve this. But the diseases in the garrison made great havock among the men, and the connestable having immediately seized *Vitenval*, from whence the fresh water came into the town, where the *English* had not taken care to fill the cisterns, they were greatly streightned.

The connestable, notwithstanding his natural sloth, briskly pursued the attack, and in the space of eight days, forced the earl of *Warwick* to capitulate. Two or three days after the place was surrendred, came a fleet of 60 sail to succour them. The rest of the 6000 men that composed the garrison, near half of which were destroy'd, returning into *England*, carried the plague with them, which in the single city of *London*, in the space of one year, carried off about 21513 persons.

The king, at his return from the siege of *Havre*, being entred into his 14th year, the queen had him declared a major in the parliament of *Roan*, with the usual ceremonies; which was very much resented by that of *Paris*, in which these solemn acts, relating to

Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 5.
C. 41

A. D. 1563. the person of the kings had been usually transacted; but the queen looked upon this as a very urgent affair, and had no regard to the remonstrances of the deputies of the parliament of *Paris* upon that occasion. Besides, she was well enough pleased with an opportunity of mortifying them; because that after the troubles, they had sometimes taken more authority upon them than was proper.

However a method was consider'd of for making peace with *England*, that the king being now become a major, might be able, without difficulty, to re-establish tranquillity in his kingdom: But to come at it the easier, they affected a disregard to it, and acted upon certain occasions in such a manner as might let *Elizabeth* see they were not afraid of her.

The design succeeded. *Throgmorton* and *Smith*, whom *Elizabeth* had sent ambassadors to *France* during the siege of *Havre* without a pass, had been stopp'd by way of reprisals for this princess's putting *M. de Foix*, ambassador of *France*, under an arrest. She had ordered *Smith* to let them know, that she was not averse to the peace. Upon this overture, which he made to *M. de Castelnau Mauvissiere*, they entered into a negotiation. The conferences were held at *Troye*. The difficulties, which arose upon the article of *Calais*, and several other affairs, which fell out unexpectedly at court, delayed the matter 'till the 11th of *April* in the following year, in which the peace was at last concluded, without any mention of the restitution of *Calais*. It was only said in general, that the rights and pretensions, which the king of *France* and the queen of *England* might have respectively, should remain intire as they were.

Castelnau was sent to *Elizabeth* to settle some difficulties, which he effected, and the peace was proclaimed in *England* as it had been in *France*. This lord, upon his return, desired the king, in the name of the queen of *England*, to accept of the order of the garter, which he received with pleasure, and some time after had the collar sent him by the hands of my lord *Hunsdon*.

The queen was pleased to see matters take so good a turn; but she was not wholly free from all causes of disquiet; a thousand incidents which it was impossible

*Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 5.
c. 7.*

*Recueil de
Traites par
Leonard T. 2.*

possible for her to fore-see, might renew the aversion of the two parties, and awaken the ambition of the heads, whose turbulent dispositions she was well acquainted with. The first difficulty she met with, proceeded from the catholicks.

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Some time after the court returned from the siege of *Havre* to *Paris*, *Anne* of *Este*, sister to *Alphonfus* duke of *Ferrara*, the duke of *Guise's* widow, and her three sons, the eldest of which, *Henry*, had already been initiated in the art of war at the siege of *Orleans*, came to the *Louvre*, attended with a great number of friends and domesticks, all in mourning, and being introduced, threw themselves at the king's feet, demanded justice upon the authors of the late duke's murder, and urged the most pathetick motives to obtain it. They were seconded by the cries of the *Parisians*, who flock'd together in crowds to this spectacle, and join'd in requiring satisfaction for the death of that zealous protector of religion.

The king in the surprize, and amidst the tumult, *D'Avila, l. 1.* which was little less than a sedition, answered in general, That it was his fixed intention not to suffer so heinous a crime to go unpunished, and that justice should be done them in proper time and place.

This answer, general as it was, could not fail of alarming the admiral and his friends, and the more, because the duchess of *Guise* and her children had, in their request to the king, plainly pointed him out.

Accordingly the admiral thought it was to no purpose to dissemble, that he plainly perceived it was him they aimed at; and as the duchess pressed to have the judges named, he declared, that he was ready to undergo his tryal. The difficulty lay in choosing a bench, that might be agreeable to both parties. Each side began with challenging the jury, which gave the king an opportunity of suspending an affair, which could not be decided without dangerous consequences. He declared, he would take cognizance of it himself, and examine it at his leisure, for that he had matters of greater moment upon his hands at present, and such as concerned the welfare and tranquillity of the state.

Lettre de J.
de Morvil-
liers Eveque
d' Orleans à
l' Eveque de
Rennes datée
du 19 Nov.
1563.

It appears by a letter * of the queen mother to the bishop of *Rennes*, resident at the emperor's court, that

Dated Jan.
12. 1564.

A. D.
1562.

one of those, who had the greatest share in kindling this new combustion, was *Chantonai* the *Spanish* ambassador at the court of *France*. He maintained a close correspondence with the house of *Guise*, who, especially after the death of the late duke, turned all their views and contrivances, to procure an interest with the king of *Spain* and the holy see. The cardinal of *Lorraine*, who was at the head of this family, and depended very much upon the young duke for the support of it, was particularly solicitous to continue in favour with these two powers. He was then at the council of *Trent*, which broke up in *December* this same year 1563. Several matters, which preceded the renewing of this council, and others that passed at that time, or followed it, relating to *France*, ought not to be omitted in this history: I shall therefore resume that subject, and lay the particulars before you in a few words.

As soon as pope *Pius IV.* was seated in the chair of saint *Peter*, one of his first concerns was to convene again the council of *Trent*, which had been so long suspended by the wars that broke out between *France* and *Spain*. He surmounted several unexpected difficulties, as well with regard to the emperor as the kings of *France* and *Spain*, and the council was opened in *January* 1562.

Four months after *M. de Lansac* the *French* ambassador arrived at the council, having for assistants *Arnaud Ferrier*, judge of the court of inquests in the parliament of *Paris*, and *Guy de Faur de Pibrac*, chief justice of *Toulouse*. There happen'd, moreover, several disputes, which greatly embarrassed the pope and legates; however, the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second sessions were held, this last on the seventeenth of *September*, anno. 1562, upon the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass. At length the cardinal of *Lorraine*, attended with the bishops and doctors of *France*, arrived at *Trent* on the thirteenth of *November*, where he was received with extraordinary marks of honour, and ten days after open'd his orders in council with a speech, in which his judgment, capacity and eloquence appeared in all their lustre, and raised the admiration of the whole assembly.

There

There was room to believe, that matters being so far advanced, most of the doctrines examined and decided, and the points of reformation in a great measure resolved upon, the arrival of the *French* bishops would have forwarded the conclusion of the council: But the event was quite contrary. The twenty-third session, which had at first been fixed to the twelfth of *November*, was, by means of several prorogations, not held till the fifteenth of *July* following, and the two last in the months of *November* and *December*.

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These delays were caused by several unexpected incidents, which have no relation to the subject I am upon; however, I shall just mention the principal one, which was a contest, in which the ancient rights of the crown of *France* were not a little concerned: It began several years before, and was never perfectly decided till our own times. I mean the dispute in relation to the precedency of the *French* above the *Spanish* ambassador.

France had been in possession of this privilege time out of mind, and in all the courts of *Europe*. *Charles V.* himself, when he was no more than king of *Spain*, never pretended to dispute it with *Francis I.* It is true, indeed, that when he came to be emperor, his ambassadors always took place of those of *France*; but not as ambassadors of *Spain*; for that was only as ambassadors of the emperor.

When *Philip II.* came to the crown of *Spain*, he made an attempt upon this prerogative of the kings of *France*. The first contest happen'd at *Venice*, where *Francis de Noailles* bishop of *Acqs* ambassador of *France*, stood stiffly upon the right of the king his master, and *Vargas* the *Spanish* ambassador was intirely cast in this affair: Nor did he meet with any better success at *Rome*, whither he was afterwards sent upon an embassy. *Philip de Babou de la Bourdaisiere* bishop of *Angouleme* the *French* ambassador at *Rome*, kept possession also of his right there.

The king of *Spain*, who saw that *France* stood in need of his assistance against the hugonors, was in hopes that this crown would not quarrel with him for a mere point of honour. The earl of *Luna*, his ambassador at the council, had orders to go as far as possible in gaining this advantage, to endeavour at

A. D. 1562. least to obtain an equality with the ambassador of France, but to act however with moderation, and to do nothing that might tend to make a breach with the pope, the council, or the king of France.

When the earl of Luna was just upon his arrival at Trent, the legates received an order from the pope to contrive a temper and expedient for the occasion. Accordingly they treated with the French ambassadors, and made several proposals to them. As first, That they should keep the places which they had till then possessed next the laical ambassadors of the emperor, and that the Spanish ambassador should sit on the other side next the ecclesiastick ambassadors of the same prince: Secondly, That he should have a separate place in the middle of the hall opposite to the legates, as the ambassador of Portugal had in the council under Julius III. to accommodate a like difference with the ambassador of the king of Hungary.

To this the French ambassadors answered immediately, That they did not come there to make innovations; that the ancient customs ought to be observed; and that if there was any attempt made to alter them, they had orders from the king their master, to quit the council with all the French bishops.

After so resolute and express an answer, the cardinal of Mantua ask'd them, Whether, in case the Spanish ambassador, to put an end to the dispute, should seat himself below all the ambassadors, they would compel him to take a more honourable place? This unexpected question surprized the ambassadors of France, who answered, That they would consider of it, and thus the conference broke up.

The ambassadors, upon deliberation, stood to their first answer, viz. That there ought to be no innovation. The legates in vain persuaded the cardinal of Lorraine, who was much inclined to temper, to press them upon this head, and their conduct was approved at the court of France.

The cardinal of Lorraine, who, as well in regard to his own private interests, as those of the kingdom, was afraid of a rupture between the two kings, and was ambitious of the honour of deciding a difference of that consequence by his mediation, did not cease to solicit the ambassadors of France, to abate somewhat of

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of their pretensions, representing to them, that provided they were placed next after the emperor's ambassadors, the king's honour was not much concern'd, whether the *Spanish* ambassador had the same privilege or not; that the king had, and would hereafter have need of the king of *Spain's* assistance against the rebels; and that it was necessary, for the welfare of the kingdom, not to exasperate this prince; that if this dispute was not ended, the council must unavoidably be dissolved, and all the odium and mischief of such an action wou'd be imputed to *France*, in all the courts of *Europe*, and afford room for renewing all the old calumnies that had been spread abroad against the queen's intentions, and her religion. In a word, he discours'd them with so much force and strength of argument, that they consented to allow the *Spanish* ambassador the separate place above-mention'd, upon condition that it should be no precedent for the chapels and other assemblies, at which the ambassadors were used to assist.

This accommodation drew great applauses upon the cardinal *de Lorraine*, and caused much joy to the legates. The earl of *Luna* immediately entered into the council, and having made his protest upon the article of precedency, that the place he was going to take, should be no prejudice to the king his master; he seated himself opposite to the legates by the table of the secretary to the council.

The *Sieur de Ferrier*, one of the *French* ambassadors, made also his protest upon this innovation, and declared, That it had been consented to only for the good of the church, and to prevent a misunderstanding between the two kings.

Palavicini:
hist. concil.
Trident. l.
21. c. 1

The danger of these concessions, which the *French* had plainly foreseen, is, that they are commonly abused by those to whom they are granted, and regarded as an introduction to obtain something more than was at first yielded to them.

This was the very case in the affair before us. The ambassadors of *France* had only consented to allow the *Spanish* ambassador a separate place in the council: But the earl of *Luna* made very pressing instances to the pope and the legates for the same privilege in the other assemblies, that at least there might appear to be

A. D. 1563. be no inequality between him and the ambassadors of France. The pope, who look'd upon the king of *Spain* as the only prince that was capacitated by his great power to support the catholick religion, which was either intirely lost, or dangerously attacked in the other states of *Europe*, yielded, at last, for fear of offending him, and ordered the legates to give the earl of *Luna* satisfaction.

It was upon S. *Peter's*-day that the affair was to be put in execution at mass. The point in question was the ceremony of incense and the pax, which it was the custom to present to the ambassadors of *France* before those of *Spain*; the expedient, which the pope had thought of, was to present them to the ambassadors of both crowns at the same time.

The matter was kept very secret, and it was resolved, that, besides the ordinary officers, some other clerks should come into the sacristy, who moving forward at the same time with the former, should so order their procession, that the incense and the pax might be presented at the same time to the ambassadors of *France* and *Spain*.

As the *French* knew, that the *Spanish* ambassador was to assist at mass, they were very intent upon observing what passed, and perceiving that a place was prepared, without the rank of ambassadors, below the cardinals seats; they sent for the master of the ceremonies, and inquired, Whom it was for? who answered, For the earl of *Luna*. They proceeded to question him about the incense and the pax, and he confessed the design.

Upon these answers there arose such a prodigious disturbance, that the bishop of *Aost*, who was celebrating mass, was obliged to break off. The ambassadors of *France* sent the master of the ceremonies to the legates to complain of the attempt. The cardinal de *Lorraine*, who was near the legates, told them, that the ambassadors of *France* had an express order, in case of any such attempt, to appeal to the council, and protest against the pope, as a simoniacal intruder; nay, he went so far, as to declare, That the court of *France* had letters under his own hand to prove it: and that the king, with all his kingdom, would separate

rate themselves from the communion of *Rome*, 'till such time as another pope had done him justice.

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A discourse of this importance, from the mouth of a cardinal, whose known interest it was to keep measures with the pope and the king of *Spain*, and who had actually done so to that time, astonished the legates: and they agreed upon a conference. Cardinal *Madruce's* proposal was followed, who, to avoid giving offence, advised, That neither the pax nor incense should be presented to any body that day; no, not even to the legates themselves. Mass was continued, and scarcely finished, when the *Spanish* ambassador went out before all the rest, as he had done the first time that he assisted at the council, in order to avoid all disputes about precedence.

But the remedy, how useful soever it was at that time, did by no means cure the disease. It was not long, before there would be a like occasion for scandal, both at *Rome* and at *Trent*. The pope saw his difficulties increase, by letters which he had received from the courts of *France* and *Spain*. He delayed as long as he could, but having promised to decide the matter by *Whitsontide*, he declared for the ancient usage, and for a conformity to the practice during the reign of *Charles* the V. before he was made emperor, without prejudice to the right of the parties concerned; and every thing was transacted on *Whitsunday*, to the satisfaction of the *French* ambassador.

The other courts followed the example of that at *Rome*, and the republick of *Venice*, whensoever the *Spanish* ambassadors were disposed to make any new attempts of that nature. This however, did not hinder them from frequently endeavouring it, but all their designs proved abortive by the resolution of the ambassadors of *France*.

The last attempt was in the year 1661, upon the *Swedish* ambassador's publick entry into *London*, where the baron *de Batteville*, ambassador of *Spain*, attended with two thousand men, insulted the count *d'Estlade*. They were upon the point of declaring war, which had but just been made an end of by the marriage of the king. But the king of *Spain* gave the king all the satisfaction he desired.

He

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He consented to call the baron *de Batteville* from *England*, to send an order to all his ambassadors at the other courts, not to assist at any ceremony in presence of those of *France*; and charged the marquis *de Fuentes*, his ambassador extraordinary, to acquaint the king with these particulars at his first audience.

He did so on the 24th of *March*, An. 1662, in presence of all the foreign ministers, of the princes of the blood, of the officers of the crown, and of the whole court.

The king answered in these terms: *I am well pleased with the declaration you have made in the name of the king your master, because it will oblige me to live in friendship with him.*

Afterwards, the marquis *de la Fuentes* withdrawing, the king addressed himself to the pope's nuncio, and all the foreign ministers, in the following manner. *You have heard the declaration of the Spanish ambassador; I desire you to acquaint your masters with it, that they may know, that the catholick king has ordered all his ambassadors to give place to mine upon all occasions.*

Thus ended this great affair, which had been in hand for above an age: and the better to preserve the memory of so authentick and important an act, a very beautiful medal was ordered afterwards to be struck with the representation of the *Spanish* ambassador's audience upon it.

You have
this Medal at
the begin-
ning of the
reign of
Louis XIV.

The king is described standing upon it before his chair of state, attending to the declaration of the ambassador, in presence of all this illustrious assembly. Upon the medal are these Latin words, *JUS PRÆCEDENDI GALLO ASSERTUM*; that is, *The right of precedence asserted to France*. And on the reverse, *HISPANORUM EXCUSATIO CORAM XXX. LEG. PR. M. DC. LXII*; which signifies, *Satisfaction given by the Spaniards in presence of thirty ministers of different princes, an. 1662*. From that time there was no more dispute between the ministers of the two crowns.

But to return to the council of *Trent*. The earl of *Luna* continued to have his separate seat, and the ambassadors of *France* to preserve the place which they had taken next the ambassadors of the emperor, as it had been agreed.

After

After this great difference was accommodated, there was all the reason in the world to expect a speedy and happy end of the council; the holy see and the most puissant christian princes, seeming all to concur in and aim at this point; when the pope and the legates attempted three things, which had like to have ruined the whole design.

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First, among the matters prepared for the 24th session, one of the principal articles related to ecclesiastical immunities in all christian states. This point of reformation tended to enlarge the pope's authority every where to a vast extent, and to set very narrow limits to that of princes over all church-men.

The ambassadors of most of the princes strenuously opposed it, and the *French* ambassador more vigorously than all the rest; I mean, the *Sieur du Ferrier*. For *M. de Lansac* was returned to *France*, and *Pibrac* was gone to *Venice*. *Du Ferrier* made a warm speech upon the occasion, and when he had finished, was de-^{Palavicino,} fired by the president legate to withdraw, that they^{l. 23. c. 1.} might consider of a proper answer. As he was departing, he told them, That they might give him what answer they pleased, he should not concern himself much about it. And accordingly, he never appeared in council after; and went, in a short time, to join *Pibrac*, his colleague at *Venice*.

The consequence of this speech, and of the ambassador's retreat, was, that the legates proceeded with more prudence and caution upon a matter of this nicety, and very much qualified it afterwards.

The second thing was the condemnation of some *French* bishops, who were looked upon at *Rome*, as favourers of the new heresies. Of this number was the cardinal *de Châtillon*, and *John de Montluc*, bishop of *Valence*. The pope pronounced sentence of deposition against some of them, and of suspension against others, on the 20th of *October*.

Lettre du
cardinal de la
Bourdaisiere,
datée du 25.
de Novem-
bre.

The third thing was the citation of *Jane* queen of *Navarre*, who openly professed heresy. This princess was allowed the term of six months to appear before the holy see; was to be looked upon as a convict, if she refused to come, her estates to be declared forfeited, and herself subject to all the penalties provided by the canons against hereticks. The pope's intention

Palavicin. l.
23. c. 6.

was

A. D. 1563. was to have sentence pronounced against her in the council : But the legates diverted him from that design by representing the dangerous consequences of such a procedure.

This news being carried to the court of *France*, the king sent M. d' *Oysel*, knight of the order, to the pope, to complain of these proceedings, and to represent to him, that he had acted contrary to the concordate, in condemning the *French* prelates, according to which, the bishops of *France* were not to be judged at *Rome*, but in *France*, by commissaries appointed by the holy see ; and with regard to the queen of *Navarre*, that in her person, they had violated the most sacred rights of sovereigns, who held their power immediately from God ; besides the particular injury done to the king, in disposing of the states of this princess, most of which were held of the crown of *France*. No farther progress was made at *Rome*, upon these two articles ; and the pope contented himself with excommunicating the queen of *Navarre*, which she gave her self no great trouble about.

Lettre de la Reine à l'Evêque de Rennes datée du 13 Decembre 1563.

The cardinal of *Lorraine* used all his endeavours to persuade the two *French* ambassadors to return to the council, but to no purpose. However, he applied himself to procure an end to it, as he had promised the pope.

Accordingly the council broke up very quietly, on the 4th of *December*, an. 1563. having been open'd in 1545. and continued during this interval at several times. Nothing now remained but to get it received in the several states of christendom.

Lettre de Morvilliers Evêque d'Orleans à l'Evêque de Rennes datée du 3 Mars, 1564.

It was received in *Portugal*, at *Venice*, and some time after in the states of *Spain*. The emperor refused to publish it in his territories. The cardinal of *Lorraine's* arrival in *France*, upon whom the pope had very much depended for bringing about this affair, was of no service. The attorney general declared, That in points of doctrine, they were bound to stand to the decisions of the council ; but that there were so many articles contrary to the liberties of the *Gallican* church, in the decrees for reformation, that they could not be received without overturning the constitution of the kingdom. Matters stopp'd here ; and as the same reasons drawn from the liberties of the *Gallican*

can

can church have always subsisted; the holy see has never since been able to procure an alteration in *France*, with regard to this particular.

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1563.

After all, excepting what was wholly contrary to the liberties of the *Gallican* church, the decrees of the council for discipline, are for the most part observed in the kingdom, not in obedience to the council, but as authorized by the states, assembled some years after at *Blous*. All these affairs were transacting during the best part of the year 1564. and in divers places, during a journey which the king and queen made into several provinces of the kingdom. A. D. 1564

The chief motive, which the queen proposed to herself in this journey, was to have a personal insight into the state of the provinces, in order to provide a remedy for the disorders of most consequence, and to take proper precautions against the risings, tumults, and seditions, which the mutual animosity of the catholicks and hugonots against each other, rendered almost inevitable: But the hugonots suspected her of other views, and were greatly disturbed at it.

They imagined that she was upon a league with the king of *Spain*, and the other catholick princes, to exterminate, by their means, calvinism out of the kingdom; nor were their suspicions without ground. These prince's ministers were continually arriving at court, and seem'd to act in concert; and it is certain, that they had a commission from their masters, to persuade the queen to enter into a league with them against the protestants of *France*. The common motive of them all was the preservation of religion in the kingdom, besides which, if we except the pope, they had also their own particular interests in view.

The king of *Spain* was apprehensive, lest the hugonots of *France*, if let alone, should support those of the *Low Countries*, who began to revolt in several places. Besides, he thought it a matter of considerable advantage to his states, that *France* should not enjoy too great a tranquillity. The emperor, who had lately renewed his instances for the restitution of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, look'd upon a civil war in *France*, as a means to arrive at this end; and the duke of *Savoy* was in hopes, by the same methods, to recover, with more ease, the towns which the *French*

Lettre de la
Reine à l'
Evêque de
Rennes da-
tée du 2. Fev.
rier, 1564.

still

A. D. still kept possession of in *Piedmont*. Their negotiations were back'd by the cardinal *de Lorraine*, who look'd upon their zeal and agreement in this affair with pleasure. His desire of revenging the duke his brother's death, and the hopes that he had entertain'd, of seeing the young duke his nephew in time at the head of the catholick party, provok'd his hatred against the hugonots; for this was a point, which he could not well come at, without the assistance of foreign princes.

But the queen, who was too sagacious to fall into these snares, had fix'd a resolution, and laid it down as a settled principle of her conduct, to enter into no war, at least 'till such time as she found herself in a condition to oppress the hugonot party with ease, and to exterminate them without any foreign assistance: but as yet they were too strong and powerful to be so easily suppressed.

*Memoires de
Castelnau, l.
4. c. 5.*

The king was gone to *Fontainbleau*, at the beginning of the year, where the pope's nuncio and the envoys of the other princes, offer'd him the assistance of their masters against the hugonots. This young prince, being thoroughly instructed by the queen his mother, answer'd them in terms of great acknowledgment, and assured them of his attachment to the catholick religion; but declared, That he could not think of seeing the blood of so many of his own subjects spilt; that he would endeavour to find out some softer methods to reclaim the minds of those that were gone astray; and that this was the motive he propos'd to himself in the journey that he was going to make throughout his kingdom.

From *Fontainbleau* the king went to make his entry at *Sens*, and afterwards at *Troye*, where he left orders for the conclusion of the peace with *England*, the particulars of which I have mention'd above, and this affair was terminated soon after.

Ibid. c. 9:

*Lettres diverses de la
Reine à l'
Evêque de
Rennes rap-
portées par le
Laboureur.*

About the end of *March* he came to *Nancy*, where he receiv'd the news of the death of the mareschal *de Brissac*, whose staff was given to monsieur *de Bourdillon*. The pretence of the journey to *Nancy* was the ceremony of the baptism of *Henry* son of the duke of *Lorraine* and *Claudia* of *France*; but the true reason was an interview with the king of the *Romans*,

mans,

mans, which the queen mother was very desirous of, but could not obtain. She made some overtures to several princes of *Germany*, to engage them in a promise not to foment the revolts of the hugonots in *France*, and offer'd them large pensions on condition of compliance. The duke of *Wirtemberg*, the count palatine of the *Rhine*, and *Welfgang* duke of *Deux-Ponts*, refused her offers, and only promised not to assist the *French* protestants, provided they were allowed the liberty of conscience secured by the edicts. She had better success with *Charles* marquis of *Baden*, and *John William* prince of the house of *Saxony*, who accepted the pensions, and engaged to furnish her with a certain number of troops upon occasion.

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1564.



From *Nancy* the king went to *Dijon*. 'Till then he found the catholick party much stronger than that of the hugonots: But he discover'd it to be quite otherwise when he passed through *Lyonnois*, *Dauphine*, and *Languedoc*, where most of the inhabitants had been perverted during the civil wars.

Upon this the ambassadors, who were in the retinue of the court, took occasion to renew their instances for the league against the hugonots, but could obtain nothing: however, the queen, to give some proof of her attachment to the ancient religion, procured a new edict of the king, in the beginning of *August*, by way of explication to the last edict of pacification, to which were added several modifying clauses, which greatly offended the hugonots, and in particular the prince of *Conde*, who wrote to the king to complain of them.

This new edict passed at *Roussillon*, a house of the count of *Tournon's* in *Dauphine*, where also the king made another very remarkable ordinance, by which he fixed the commencement of the year on the first of *January*, which had begun at *Easter*, time out of mind, in *France*, a matter of great inconvenience, by reason of the moveableness of that feast; and this style has been followed ever since. The duke and duchess of *Savoy*, the king's aunt, made him a visit at that place, and the conferences which they had with the queen were a fresh cause of uneasiness to the hugonots.

Article 39.
de l'Ordon-
nance.

A. D. 1564. The king passed from *Dauphine* to *Provence*, from *Provence* to *Languedoc*, and from *Languedoc* to *Guyenne*; continually pester'd with petitions from the hugonots against the catholicks, and from the catholicks against the hugonots, no very favourable prognosticks for the tranquillity of the kingdom.

A. D. 1565 He made his entry at *Bordeaux* on the ninth of *April*, and from thence continued his journey to *Bayonne*, where such things were transacted, as gave the hugonots more occasion for disquiet than ever.

The queen of *Spain* came thither with the duke of *Alva*, and several conferences were held, the secret of which was never perfectly known: But the hugonots of *France*, and those of the *Low-Countries*, seem'd always to be perswaded that their ruin was contriv'd upon that occasion; and this perswasion hasten'd the revolt of the latter, and determin'd those of *France* to enter into a strict alliance with them, and to renew that which they had made some years before with the queen of *England*, and some protestant princes of *Germany*.

Castelnau, 1.
6. c. 1.

The court having pursued their journey through *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge*, the country of *Aunis*, and *Poitou*, arrived at *Angers*, and crossing *Bleis*, they went to *Moulins* in *Bourbonnois*. In the beginning of the following year, the deputies of the parliaments, and other courts of *France*, had orders to assemble there, for restoring the authority and administration of the laws, in which the king was also resolv'd to proceed, as he had endeavour'd every where, to restore the situation of religion. He made a remarkable ordinance there in relation to this particular, and had his thoughts upon another affair of great importance to the tranquillity of the state.

This affair was the reconciliation of the house of *Guise*, with that of the admiral. It was agreed, that this lord should declare upon oath, That he had no hand in the death of the duke of *Guise*, and that the princes of the house of *Guise* should be content with this satisfaction. And the matter was made up accordingly. But historians differ very much in the circumstances of this accommodation: however, it was too plain by what followed, that the reconciliation was all pretence and disguise.

The

A. D.
1565.




The advantage which the king and queen reap'd, by their progress through the kingdom, was a more certain and distinct knowledge of the state of the provinces; but it tended also to augment their uneasiness, through the great difficulties that occur'd in remedying so many disorders, and very far were they from being so well satisfied upon their return as they affected to appear. Indeed, it was not long before a discovery was made of some new intrigues carried on by the heads of the hugonot party: but this fire lay smothering in the ashes, and did not break out in *France*, 'till it had begun to set the *Low-Countries* in a flame.

It was difficult for the provinces situated between *France* and *Germany*, and in the neighbourhood of *England*, to be long preserved from so contagious an evil as heresy, with which the frontiers were on all sides infected. Several inhabitants of these countries suffered themselves to be corrupted, and two hugonot ministers of *France*, in concert with them, had the assurance, in 1561, to preach the new gospel publick-ly at *Tournay* and *Valenciennes*; upon which a sedition arose in these two cities, and in some other places; but their first attempts had been easily suppressed, if they had not been fomented by the designed negligence of the great men, and afterwards by their ambition and aversion to the ministers of the king of *Spain*.

Strada l. 2.
de Bello
Belg.

They did not love this prince, whose deportment was too grave, and different from that of the emperor *Charles V.* his father, to be agreeable to them. Their apprehensions of the inquisition, which he was going to establish in the *Low-Countries*; the erecting several new bishopricks, without consulting the states, and some other innovations, which the nobility and clergy pretended were injurious to them, exasperated their minds against their sovereign.

Margaret of *Austria*, duchess of *Parma*, natural daughter of *Charles V.* had been made regent of the *Low Countries*: and *Philip II.* had given her the cardinal *de Granville*, a person of great abilities, for a minister. *Lamoral*, count of *Egmont*, and *William* of *Nassau*, prince of *Orange*, who thought nothing too great for their birth and services, had both flattered

A. D. 1565.  themselves with the hopes of the government of the *Low-Countries*, but saw themselves excluded; and besides, every thing was transacted by the cardinal's advice, and they, and some other of the principal lords, were called to council only for form-sake.

From hence arose the jealousies of this minister, and the carelessness of these lords to prevent the progress of heresy, and put a stop to the beginnings of the factions which arose in their governments.

They proposed to ruin the cardinal's interest with the king of *Spain*, and to raise up so many troubles and difficulties to the regent, that she should be obliged to have recourse to them.

A. D. 1566 They compassed their design: The cardinal was re-called, and at their desire the *Spanish* troops were withdrawn from the *Low-Countries*, as being an unnecessary charge upon the people, after the peace was concluded with *France*. In a word, the great revolts which happened in 1566, obliged the regent, notwithstanding her mistrust of the prince of *Orange*, to make use of him as a mediator, to moderate, at least, the furious excesses to which the populace had abandoned themselves.

These commotions were more violent, speedy, and extensive, than those of the hugonots in *France*. The Gueux (as the calvinists of the *Low-Countries* were called) revolted almost every where in the seventeen provinces, and committed the greatest excesses in several of the principal towns.

These tumults continued with great fury for several months, and till such time as the king of *Spain* spread abroad the report of his passing into the *Low-Countries*, and raised an army in *Italy*, under the command of the duke of *Alva*.

Then matters calm'd a little, and the prince of *Orange*, being more provident than the counts of *Egmont*, and *Horn*, and some other lords of the *Low-Countries*, who lost their heads by it, retired into *Germany*, to strengthen his party there. These risings in the *Low-Countries*, and the approach of the duke of *Alva's* army, were the occasion of the new civil war, that broke out in *France*, in the manner I am going to relate.

A. D.
1566.

The prince of *Conde*, and the admiral, could not be perswaded but that a project had been form'd, at the conference of *Bayonne*, to ruin the hugonots. The queen's application to procure an interest with the catholicks, the little regard she had, upon many occasions, shewn to the calvinists; the power of the cardinal *de Lorraine*, which increased daily; and lastly, the approach of the duke of *Alva*, who having been the author of the measures taken at *Bayonne*, as they supposed, was now going to execute them, put them upon making some provision for their safety.

They sent advice of it to their private agents in *Germany* and *England*; enter'd into an alliance with the prince of *Orange*, and the calvinists of the *Low-Countries*; and at the solicitation of *Theodore Beza*, who had succeeded *Calvin*, deceased two years before, in the authority he had always retain'd at *Geneva*, dispatch'd *Montbrun* thither, who repair'd to the town, with several gentlemen, most of whom were *Burgundians*, to defend it against the duke of *Savoy*, who was known to have a design to make himself master of it.

In the mean time the prince of *Conde*, and the admiral, went to wait upon the king, to represent to him, that he was bound in prudence not to let himself be surprized by the *Spaniards*, and that, the duke of *Alva* being so near with an army, it wou'd be proper to have a standing force. The queen, who was always ready at dissimulation, greatly approved of their advice, and orders were given for raising 6000 *Swiss* out of hand, and levying other troops in the *Lyonnois*, and the other provinces bordering upon the *Alps*.

Nor was this all, for the king, having called an extraordinary council, to which several hugonot lords were summoned by name, she expressed a great mistrust of the king of *Spain*; and it was resolv'd, That *V. Aubespine junior*, secretary of state, shou'd be sent to that prince, to divert him from going into the *Low-Countries*. He had an order, in his instructions, to leave no stone unturn'd, to penetrate the mystery of this journey: But he had also other private instructions, and a particular charge, to endeavour to render the union between the two kings closer than it

A. D.
1566.

had ever yet been. The king of *Spain* was made acquainted with the contrivance, and persuaded to join in the design, and by a private agreement between the two courts, gave *L'Aubespine* outwardly a very cold reception,

This comedy was so well performed, that pope *Pius V.* successor to *Pius IV.* was very apprehensive of a rupture between the two crowns, and sent an order to his nuncio in *France*, to omit nothing that might contribute to remove the suspicions which the queen had conceived of the king of *Spain*, to whom she gave such an answer, as convinced him he had spoken to no purpose.

The prince of *Conde* very narrowly escaped being surprized by these deceitful appearances; but the admiral being more mistrustful, revived his suspicions, by communicating to him his own.

A. D. 1567 In the mean time the duke of *Alva* having drawn together his army in *Italy*, march'd for the *Low-Countries*, whither he arrived in the beginning of *August*, anno 1567, and began with seizing the counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*, whom he caused to be beheaded.

Strada l. 6.

This conduct of the duke of *Alva*, gave the heads of the hugonot party in *France* little less uneasiness, than it spread a terror among the *Flemings*. They drew these examples into consequence for themselves, and look'd upon them as the commencement of the execution of the projects at the conference of *Bayonne*.

Their fear was increased by the advice which they received, that the six thousand *Swiss* being arrived under the command of colonel *Fiffer*, instead of continuing upon the frontiers, had orders to march for the isle of *France*; and they might thank themselves for having been the authors of the levy of these troops.

They concluded there were no more measures to be taken, and after several deliberations, the admiral's opinion was followed, who advised to seize the king then at *Monceaux*, a pleasure-house in *Brie*, as the late duke of *Guise* had done at *Fountainbleau*. Some writers have affirmed, that their design, after seizing the king, was to deprive him of his crown, and to place it upon the head of the prince of *Conde*, which suspicion appeared afterwards not to be groundless.

In

In these sort of enterprizes, where many persons must be trusted, secrecy is as necessary as it is rare. *Montluc* wrote several letters to the queen, that some contrivance was carrying on. The *seigneur de Castelnau*, at his return from *Brussels*, whither the king had sent him to complement the duke of *Alva*, had also some insight into the affair, which he communicated to this princess; but both she and the connestable laughed at their suspicions, as a mere chimera: however they began at length to be sensible of the truth of them, when it was almost too late to prevent the danger that threatned them.

A. D.
1567.

Comment.
de Montluc.
l. 6.

Titus de Castelnau, brother of him I have been speaking of, arrived at court, whither he came with all speed to let them know, that he had seen the prince of *Conde*, the admiral, and several lords and gentlemen, at *Lagny*, with a great body of cavalry dismounted, in order to bait and refresh themselves, who were immediately to enter upon their march to invest the court at *Monceaux*.

Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 6.
c. 4.

Upon this news the king and queen set forward with great precipitation, and fled to *Meaux*, while the connestable dispatch'd courier upon courier, with orders to the *Swiss* at *Chateau-Thierry*, to come without delay, and succour the king.

The queen, whose whole dependance was upon the expedition of the *Swiss*, sent the mareschal de *Montmorency* to the prince of *Conde*, to ask him, in her name, What was his intention, and the cause of his coming with so great an attendance, at a time when all things were in peace? and order'd him to amuse him, as much as possible, to gain time. He perfectly acquitted himself of his commission: The interview that he had with the prince of *Conde*, and the admiral, retarded their march, and when they arrived at *Meaux*, they found the *Swiss* had got thither before them.

But after all, the danger was not wholly over. There were but two things to resolve upon, either to continue at *Meaux*, or go to *Paris*: both equally dangerous. *Meaux* had no fortifications: there were several breaches in the walls; they were without provisions and ammunition, they knew the rebel forces would be continually reinforced, and the passages

A. D. being once seiz'd, they would be famish'd in two days
1567. at Meaux.

On the other hand, it was ten leagues to *Paris*, and they would be obliged to pass several plains, without any cavalry to oppose to that of the prince; which was very numerous; and if the *Swiss* should once be routed, as they had great reason to fear they would, by the advantage of the cavalry over the infantry in open field, the king cou'd not avoid being taken.

However, they resolv'd upon the latter, contrary to the opinion of the connestable. The manner in which colonel *Fiffer* delivered himself in council, the resolution which he and all the officers and soldiers expressed, of letting themselves be cut in pieces to preserve the person of the king, inclined the whole court to that side of the question.

All the night, which was that of the twenty-seventh, or twentieth of *September*, was spent in making preparations for their departure. The *Swiss* drew up a quarter of a league from the town, and the king went to join them before day-break. They received him in the midst of their batallions, with the queen, the court-ladies, the embassadors, and all such as were not fit to engage. The duke *de Nemours* was at the van with the king's troop of light-horse; and some archers on horse-back; and the connestable at the head of the gentlemen that attended upon the court, of some lords, and of all such as were capable of bearing arms, made, as it were, the rear.

They had not marched four leagues when several parties of hugonot cavalry appeared on all sides; six hundred horse, led by the prince of *Conde*, and the admiral, drew near, and seem'd disposed to attack the *Swiss*, who stopp'd to receive them, and having kissed the earth, according to their custom in those times when they prepared for battle, they made so good an appearance, that this troop, having wheel'd about for some time, withdrew.

But the earl *de la Rochefoucault*, with three hundred troopers, and *d'Andelot* with two hundred, came trotting up from another quarter; march'd within pistol-shot, and fired upon the first ranks of the batallion that was before them.

The king with several lords marched up to them, and shew'd a courage upon that occasion, which very much redounded to his honour. The *Swiss* having presented their piques, bore the discharge without moving or much lofs, and the harquebusiers that supported the pike-men having forced those squadrons to disperse, they continued their march.

A. D
1567.

The march was performed in very good order, notwithstanding the frequent alarms, and several efforts of the hugonot cavalry, which was continually harassing the troops for the space of three leagues, which they made that day, besides the four which they had march'd at first with less interruption. The prince of *Conde* seeing the horse greatly fatigued, having little hopes of breaking the *Swiss*, and hearing that a recruit was coming to the king from *Paris*, forbore to pursue them.

Indeed the duke d'*Amale*, the mareschal de *Vieilleville*, the barons de *Surgeres* and de *Biron*, upon notice of what passed, had set out from *Paris* with three hundred horsemen well armed, to go to meet and assist the court, which they found at *Bourget*. The king, queen, and their attendants march'd before with this troop, and arrived at *Paris* at four o'clock in the evening, which the *Swiss* entered the next day with the acclamations of the people. The king went in person to receive them at the port saint *Martin*, where, after many praises and caresses, he ordered them an extraordinary pay, and afterwards distributed them in the suburbs, the defence of which he committed to them, upon advice of the approach of the rebels.

Indeed their forces increased daily: They block'd up *Paris*, seizing *Montereau*, *Lagny* and saint *Denys*, while the king, on the other hand, sent for a great number of nobility, and several troops and regiments from the provinces, which enter'd *Paris* without any resistance, because the army of the rebels was not yet numerous enough to shut up all the passages.

In the mean time the queen, according to her usual custom, proposed a negotiation, to which the prince of *Conde* agreed more readily than was expected. Several conferences were held upon the occasion; but without success, because the prince of *Conde* insisted upon too advantageous conditions for the hugonots,
and

A. D. 1567. and the king always talk'd with authority, and would give, but not receive, laws from the persons he was treating with.

Popelinjere

I. 2.

D'Avila, l. 4.

The hostilities continued, and the court resolved at last to proceed to a battle, if the hugonots did not, of their own accord, raise the blockade. As they did not seem disposed to do this, the connestable took a very seasonable time to march out of *Paris* at the head of an army. He was informed on the tenth of *November*, that *d'Andelot* and the count of *Montgomery*, were gone to *Poissi*, to prevent count *d'Aremberg's* passing the *Seine*, who was bringing two thousand horse out of the *Low-Countries* from the duke of *Alva* to the assistance of the catholicks, and whom they thought much nearer than in truth he was. The prince of *Conde* and the admiral were persuaded, that the king would not hazard a battle, and this persuasion was founded upon the information they received from their emissaries at court, and especially from the ladies that favour'd the sect: But they were mistaken.

Memoires de
Tavannes.

ibid.

The connestable had twelve thousand foot, two thousand five hundred horse, and fourteen pieces of cannon. The prince had but one thousand two hundred horse, and one thousand eight hundred foot to oppose this army; and it is very likely he would have chosen to retreat, if he had not thought it a matter of the last importance for him to support the reputation of his party, and been sensible of the danger of making a retreat in so open a country as that about saint *Denys*.

Another motive to induce him to stand his ground, was probably this, That it was so late before the connestable came out of *Paris*, that he was not in a condition to engage till about three or four o'clock in the evening, when there remained but little day-light, in which case, if the prince should be beat, he might take advantage of the night, to avoid being pursued.

The connestable extended his right wing to *Aubervilliers*, his left to within a small distance of the *Seine*, and placed himself in the center at the head of the corps de bataille. The mareschal *Damville* his son, together with the duke *d'Aumale*, commanded the corps de reserve, which was posted behind *la Villere*,

Villete, and the mareschal of *Montmorenci*, another of his sons, was before the corps de bataille with a large troop of horse.

A. D.
1567.

The connestable, who little imagined that the prince of *Conde* durst wait for him, was surprized to see him continue firm in the posts that he had seized, and ranged his little army to receive him.

This prince placed his right wing at *saint Owen*, upon the banks of the *Seine*, which put it out of danger of being inclosed on that side. The left was posted at *Aubervilliers* under the cover of a large fosse, which he had caused to be made, and which proved of service to him, and himself took up all the space between these two bodies.

After some skirmishes, the engagement begun with a discharge of the connestable's artillery. *Francis de Hangest* lord of *Genlis*, who was at the left wing of the prince, under *Aubervilliers*, and the most incommoded with the artillery, marched with *de Vardes*, at the head of some troops of horse, against a body of catholick troops, that were advancing towards them. Upon this occasion there was a severe encounter with the lances, and then they closed sword and pistol in hand.

De Verdes finding himself close pressed by the troops of horse, which *M. de Cousse*, who had the command of the cavalry, and *Armand de Biron*, mareschal de camp detach'd after him, retreated sword in hand to the fosse, above-mentioned, to rally his men, where the catholicks following him close at the heels, were stopp'd by a terrible fire, which the harquebusiers, under cover of the fosse, discharged upon them, and destroyed a great number of them. Upon this *Genlis* caused his cavalry to make a lane; for according to the memoirs of the mareschal *de Tavannes*, in which this battle is described, the cavalry did not squadron: By this lane he ordered some other harquebusiers to advance, who, approaching very near and discharging their pieces, cleared, in a great measure, the line of the catholick troopers; but to his great grief, he saw the royalists advancing directly to the suburbs of *Aubervilliers* to inclose him.

As soon as the admiral, who commanded the right wing at *saint Owen*, saw the left engaged, he sent the prince

A. D. prince of *Conde* word, That he was going to engage himself.
1567.

He caused all his harquebusiers to march before him, who having made their discharge very seasonably, retired in good order behind the cavalry, and himself at the same instant falling upon the horie that opposed him, and was disordered by the fire, overthrew them, and drove them to the village of *Chapelle*, where in their flight, they fell foul upon a large batallion compos'd of the *Paris* militia, most of which took to their heels. Upon this the hugonots began to cry out victory.

At the same time that the admiral finished the defeat of the left wing of the catholick army, the prince of *Conde* came up with his single cavalry, to attack the corps de bataille in flank, which was discovered by this defeat, but the mareschal de *Montmorenci*, penetrating the prince's design, moved off from the front, and came to meet him, in order to do the same by him.

The prince divided his troop into two bodies, caused one of them to march against the mareschal, and immediately pursued his design with the rest.

The loss of the left wing had already spread a terror in the corps de bataille, and the prince charged them so furiously, that with a handful of men he routed them in a moment, notwithstanding all the connestable's efforts to stop the fugitives.

This lord was all over blood with several wounds that he had received in his face and head, and though he was surrounded on all sides, he defended himself with a surprizing vigour for his great age, when *Robert Stuart*, closing in with him, wounded him in his reins with a pistol-shot, and caused him to tumble off his horse.

This new accident, that happened to the general, so amazed the corps de bataille, that they were upon the point of disbanding intirely. But the duke d'*Aumale*, and the mareschal *Damville*, running to their assistance with some cavalry, encouraged the *Swiss*, by conjuring them to remember their former valour; and assuring them, that the right wing was still whole; that the mareschal de *Montmorenci* had cut in pieces part of the prince's cavalry, and that *Chavigny* had renewed the battle at the left wing, where he closely pressed *Clermont d'Amboise*, and the admiral. This was

was all true ; and the admiral had no other thoughts, but to rally his men, in order to retreat to S. *Denys* by the help of the night, which was coming on.

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The prince of *Conde* himself having lost a great number of brave soldiers out of his little troop, was just ready to be surrounded by the mareschal de *Montmorenci* : For this reason, having quitted his horse, which was wounded in several places, and being mounted upon another, he turned the bridle for S. *Denys*, without being pursued, because the mareschal de *Montmorenci* was more solicitous to save the connestable his father, than to make use of the advantage that he had in his hands ; and thus ended the fight, which lasted but three quarters of an hour.

Discours politiques & militaires du sieur de la Noue.

As the reputation of having the victory was to both sides of almost equal importance with the victory it self, both ascrib'd the honour and advantage of this action to themselves. There was enough to be said either way to amuse the minds of such as were disposed to believe what was told them of those they favoured. The field of battle was left to the catholicks : but the defeat of their left wing, and their corps de bataille, with the wounds of their general, who was upon the point of being taken ; the haughty manner, in which the prince and the admiral made their retreat, without any one's daring to pursue them ; the boldness which the prince shew'd the next day, in drawing up in the same posts, having been rejoin'd by the forces of *d'Andelot* and *Montgomery*, who arrived at S. *Denys* in the night ; their firing the village of *Chapelle*, without any one person's coming from *Paris* to repulse them ; all this redounded greatly to the honour of the hugonot troops ; nor can it be denied but that the prince of *Conde* and the admiral acquired great glory by this enterprize.

After all, excepting the misfortune of the connestable, the loss of the calvinists was much more considerable than that of the catholicks, not in number indeed, for in that they were pretty near equal, and not many more than three hundred men on either side ; but in the dignity of the persons they lost. Instead of which, the catholicks had scarce any man of distinction killed, excepting *Francis d'Ognies* count of *Chaunes*, and *Claude de Basternay* count of *Bouchage*.

The

A. D. 1567. The condition in which the connestable found himself, by reason of his wounds, was the cause of the inaction of the catholick army, after the battle. He died three days after, on the 12th of *November*, aged, not about fourscore, as most of our historians write, but seventy-four, as it is expressly said in his epitaph, which I have seen in the veltry of the church of *Montmorenci*.

This was equally a loss to the state and to religion; for he was a sincere lover both of the one and the other, and might have yet been serviceable to them, though more so by his counsel and the authority which he had acquired, than in a military capacity, where his over-slowness hindred him from giving the troops a certain vivacity necessary to conquer in battles. He had assisted in eight, and commanded in three *, which were none of them successful. He had preserved the state by his sage conduct in the reign of *Francis I.* when *Charles V.* made a descent upon *Provence*, which is the best thing that ever he did in the business of war.

* The battle of S. Quentin, of Dreux, and of S. Denys.

The queen, who had always feared him, long hated him, and never loved him, look'd upon him, at the conjuncture in which she lost him, as a necessary support, and the only one of all the great lords of the state, upon whose fidelity and wisdom she could depend for the management of the war in which she found herself engaged. All the rest were either suspected by her, or had not a sufficient authority over the soldiery. And it was only for these reasons, that the tears which she shed at the connestable's bed-side, were sincere.

In the mean time, the prince of *Conde* beginning to want provision and forage in the parts about *Paris*, decamped on the 15th of *November*, and having sent some troops to *Orleans*, which *Francis de la Noue* a *Breton*-gentleman, surnamed *Iron-arm*, and afterwards famous in the civil wars, had surprized during the blockade of *Paris*, he took the road for *Lorraine*, in order to go and join a numerous body of *Germans*, that were coming to his succour.

D'Avila, l. 4. This recruit consisted of seven thousand Reisters and
Memoires de
Castelnau, l. 6. four thousand Lansquenets under the command of
chap. 8. *John Casimir*, second son of *Frederic III.* count *Palatine*,

rine, who was the first of all the protestant princes that introduced calvinism in Germany, and was exceeding zealous for that sect.

A. D.
1567.

The Queen, on the other hand, reinforced the army which she had at Paris, with a great number of troops that came to her from the provinces, and John William duke of Saxony, one of the youngest brothers of this house, raised five thousand Reisters for her; so that France was exposed anew, as in the former civil war, to the pillage of the Germans of both parties.

There remain'd nothing now but to constitute a general, by making a new connestable; but it was not thought proper to fill this great place; and to take away all pretence to the general command of the army, Henry duke of Anjou, who was scarce seventeen, but was at that time a prince of great hopes, was made lieutenant general by the king his brother, and placed at the head of the forces.

The king acted in this choice contrary to his inclination; for being of a very military disposition he would have commanded the army in person, and was always very jealous of the honour which his brother afterwards acquired, as well as of the preference, which he knew this young prince had in the queen's affection: But he honoured and feared her greatly, and forced himself to submit to this piece of complaisance for her.

Under the duke of Anjou were placed the duke d'Aumale and the mareschal de Cousse, who was also stiled the mareschal de Gonnor, brother of the late mareschal de Brissac. The army followed close after the prince of Conde towards Lorraine, and the generals seemed to have a design to engage him before he joined the Germans.

Memoires de
Castelnau, l.
6. c. 8.

A favourable opportunity offered for this purpose, near Châlons upon Marne, in January, at a place named Notre-Dame de l'Espine. But they did not make use of it, and the prince joined the German forces by Pont-a-Mousson. Upon this occasion, there arose a great complaint against the mareschal de Cousse. His conduct was very unaccountable: for it was in his power to have made an intire defeat of the prince's army. However it is certain, that he was not the worse

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Brantôme
dans l' éloge
du mareschal
de Cousse.

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worse received for it at his return from the campaign and that he did not trouble himself to justify it.

In the mean time the civil war broke out in all the provinces, and was carried on with various success. *D'Assier* brother to the duke *d'Uzes*, at the head of the hugonots, made himself master of *Nismes* and *Montpellier*. The advantages of the faction were more ballanced in *Provence* and *Burgundy*. *Terride*, *Monfalais*, and the younger *Tilladet*, colonel of the regiment of *Gascogne*, utterly defeated *Ponsenac* in *Auvergne*, who with five thousand foot and five hundred horse, which he commanded there for the prince of *Conde*, made the whole country tremble.

Montluc always maintained the superiority of the catholicks over the hugonot party in *Guyenne* and *Gascogne*, and made himself master of the isle of *Re*: But the world had their eyes chiefly upon the two armies encamped upon the frontiers of *Burgundy* and *Champagne*; where both sides suffered such inconveniences, as nothing but the rage of a civil war could have endured in so severe a season.

The prince of *Conde* passed from *Burgundy* to *Beauisse*; and as he was suspected of designing to return to the parts about *Paris*, the king recalled the duke of *Anjou* to defend the capital.

The king and queen resolved to hazard nothing, and to spin out the time in hopes that the prince of *Conde's* troops would disband for want of pay. But he was aware of their design, and to prevent the *Germans* from continuing idle any longer, he laid siege to *Chartres*, promising them either the plunder of the city, or a battle, if the royal army attempted to succour it. It was then the month of *February*.

The place was vigorously defended by *Lignieres*, knight of the order, and captain of fifty gendarmes. The uncertainty of the event, which according as it should be attended with success or the contrary, would be of dangerous consequence to one side or the other, produced a negotiation.

This news raised great joy in the prince of *Conde's* camp. The conferences were held at *Lonjumeau*, and a peace was soon concluded. The chief articles were the restitution of the towns seized by the hugonots, the departure of the foreigners out of the kingdom,

Popeliniere.
l. 11.

Edit du Roy
du 23. de
1568.

dom, and the confirmation of the edict of pacification, *an.* 1562. without any of the interpretations and qualifying clauses, that had been added to it by that of *Roussillon*.

A. D.
1568.

The king was obliged to disburse out of his own treasury the pay that was due to prince *Casimir's* Germans, but it was a capital point to send the foreigners out of the kingdom.

The prince and the admiral having dismissed their troops, not thinking themselves safe at court, withdrew, the prince to *Noyers* in the *Auxerrois*, and the admiral to his estate of *Chatillon* upon *Loire*, and from hence they took care to keep up a correspondence under hand with their friends in *France* and foreign countries, in case of a new occasion or necessity to resume their arms; and it was not long before they did resume them. The hugonots in their manifestoes laid the blame upon the catholicks, and the catholicks in like manner upon the hugonots. Among other things, the hugonots complained, that the edict of pacification was not observed in those particulars in which it was favourable to them, and that the restrictions and qualifications of that of *Roussillon* were again put in execution. The intractations which they themselves made upon the treaty of *Lonjumeau* were much more visible. *Montauban*, *Sancerre*, and several other towns of *Querci*, *Vivaraiz*, *Dauphine* and *Languedoc*, refused to submit to the king's authority, contrary to the main article of the treaty.

Popeliniere;
l. 14.

However, this fire, which was ill extinguish'd, had not broke out again so suddenly, if it had not been for an undertaking, which would have absolutely confounded the hugonot party, if it had succeeded: but miscarrying, it brought on the ruin of the kingdom, and furnished the calvinists with a specious pretence to declare in all places, that they had been forced against their will to have recourse to arms in their own defence.

Besides the council, in which were ordinarily present the princes of the blood, the ministers, and some others, the king had erected another which was called the cabinet-council, to which were admitted only certain persons in whom the king most confided. These were the duke of *Anjou*, the chancellor *de l'Hôpital*,

D'Avila, Lc.

A. D. 1563. *Louis de Lansac, Sebastian de l'Aubespine, bishop of Limoge, John de Morvilliers, bishop of Orleans, Henry de Mesne, the president of Birague, and Villeroy, the secretary of state. Here they deliberated every day upon ways and means to secure the repose of the kingdom, which they saw every moment in danger of relapsing into the greatest troubles.*

Having well considered every thing, they concluded upon the project, which they had often thought of, and proposed, that there was no other way but by seizing the heads of the party, that is to say, the prince of *Conde* and the admiral, because if they could once make sure of their persons, the rest would disperse of themselves. and leave the kingdom, or be soon suppressed. The difficulty lay in the execution : for they were both very watchful, and upon their guard, kept an attentive eye upon all the steps of the court, and had their spies every where.

The troops were, upon divers pretences, disposed in such manner as made it difficult for them to escape; and the conjuncture, which had been for some time expected, arrived. The admiral, who had always avoided meeting with the prince in one and the same place, was come to make him a visit at *Noyers*, upon which it was an easier matter to lay hold of them both together in the same place, than to beset them separately at the same time : But some motions of the troops having given them a suspicion, they were not long determining what to do. For they ordered two hundred horse to be got ready, and without communicating any part of their design even to their own domesticks, they set forward in the night time on the 25th of *August*, took the road for *Rochelelle*, and forded the river *Loire*.

The news of their escape was a matter of the greatest concern imaginable to the court. The queen discharged her passion upon the chancellor *de l'Hôpital*, who, she supposed, had revealed the secret of the council, caused the seals to be taken from him, which were given to the bishop of *Orleans*, and he had orders to leave the court : but *M. de Tavannes*, in his memoirs of the life of his father the marshal *de Tavannes*, does not scruple to say, that it was this marshal that gave the prince and the admiral advice of the

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the design that was laid against them; that having received an order to invest *Noyers*, as being best capacitated for such an undertaking, because he commanded in *Burgundy*, he refused; that not content with disobeying the order that was sent him, he wrote letters to some of his friends, in which were these words; *The stag is in the net, the game is ready*; and purposely sent the courier by *Noyers*, who was seized, as he was well satisfied he would; and that by means of those letters the prince and the admiral escaped, and passed the *Loire* to *Sancerre*.

This was too great a length of treachery; for though he refused to obey, which was no extraordinary practice at that time, he should at least have kept the secret of his sovereign: but it was then a common method with the great men to profess one thing, and practise another.

The alarm being spread among the hugonots in the provinces, they thought it time to provide for their security. The cardinal *de Châtillon*, being dressed in a sea-man's habit went aboard a barque, that carried him to *England*, where he thought he might be serviceable to his party, and a great number of the nobility went to join the prince and the admiral at *Rochelle*, where they were received with open arms on the 19th of *November*. This city was afterwards the bulwark of the faction.

The queen in vain spread abroad a report, that this was a panick fear of the prince of *Conde* and the admiral, a contrived pretence for renewing the war; nobody would believe her, and both sides made preparations, for their own defence and to attack the enemy.

The queen of *Navarre* came to *Rochelle* with a numerous force, attended with the young prince *Henry* her son; and it was not long before the prince of *Conde* had a strong army there. It was resolved among the heads of the hugonots, not to lose time in making war separately from each other in the provinces, but to join together in one single body, that they might be in a condition for the greatest attempts.

The union was easy for those on the other side the *Loire*, but very difficult for those on this side, because the king was master of the towns and all the bridges upon this river. *D'Andelot* undertook this dangerous

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commission, and performed it, by discovering a ford at the time when he was upon the point of being overwhelm'd by the duke of *Montpensier*.

The slowness of the court in sending an army to the other side the *Loire*, gave the calvinists time to fortify themselves there, and carry on their conquests. They made themselves masters of *Niort*, *Maille*, *Fontenay-le-comte*, *S. Maixant*, *Angouleme*, *S. John d' Angeli*, *Blaye*, *Taillebourg*, and *Pons*: But the siege of this place, which, by the valour of the lord *de Pons*, delay'd the hugonots longer than they had expected, was the cause of a considerable loss to their party.

Brantôme
dans l'Eloge
de Mouvans.

Louis de Crussol lord of *Acier* carried the hugonot forces of *Dauphine* and *Provence* to the prince of *Conde*. He passed the *Rhone* at *S. Pyraut*, and at *Bais sur Bais*, and arrived at *Alais* in the *Cevennes*; where having taken a review of his men, he found himself twelve thousand foot strong: he had also some cavalry. This army increased in the march; and upon their arrival at *Quercy*, were found to amount to eighteen thousand foot and seven hundred horse.

The duke of *Montpensier*, at the head of a large detachment of the catholick army, was advanced on the other side the *Loire*, being soon to be followed by the duke of *Anjou* with the rest. He march'd to prevent *d'Acier's* joining the prince of *Conde*; and approach'd very near him at *Perigueux*.

Four thousand harquebusiers of *d'Acier's* army were encamped at *Mensignac* at a great distance from *d'Acier's* camp, under the command of *Mouvans* and captain *Pierre-Gourde*. The duke of *Montpensier* formed a design of forcing them. The earl of *Brissac* had the care of this expedition, and acquitted himself in it with much conduct.

He found them strongly intrenched, and made as if he was drawing off, foreseeing that, upon his retreat, *Mouvans* and *Pierre-Gourde* would march to join the body of the army for fear of being intercepted at this village by the catholick troops.

Popelinier,
l. 15.

He was in the right of it. These two captains decamped upon advice of his continuing his march for *Perigueux*: but as soon as he knew they were in the plain, he turned head with all his cavalry, and charged them with so much vigour, that he defeated them.

The

The two captains were killed, two thousand of their men fell upon the spot, and several others were knock'd on the head by the peasants. *Brissac* entred *Perigueux* with eighteen ensigns that he had taken, having lost but about a hundred men in the fight.

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D'Acier hearing of this disaster, went to join the prince of *Conde*, who was marching towards him, having first taken *Pons*. The duke of *Montpensier* returned to *Poitou* to attend the coming of the duke of *Anjou*, who arrived soon after.

The two armies approached each other, and it was not doubted but they would soon proceed to a general action. The prince of *Conde* sought all opportunities for it. But several accidents, which prevented the defeat, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, caused the whole to determine in some great skirmishes. The most considerable happened at the camp of *Jasseneuil*, where the duke of *Anjou* was encamped, and whither the prince of *Conde* and the admiral marched to attack him; but a great mist arising, caused the prince to lose his way, and he joined the admiral too late to begin the attack.

The day following the royal army decamped first and marched to *Poitiers*. Some days after, they came to *Loudun* in the neighbourhood of the hugonot army. They drew up in battalia on both sides, in order to engage, but the fields were so slippery with the frost, that not only the horse, but the foot also, were unable to keep their feet, besides that neither of the generals would lose the advantage of their posts. Thus the whole design ended in skirmishes, as it had done at *Jasseneuil*.

The duke of *Anjou* was nevertheless the first in decamping, and withdrew to *Chinon*, posting himself behind the river of *Vienne*. At length the rigour of the season obliged the prince of *Conde* to divide his army, and take up his quarters in the cities of *Poitou*, whereof he was master.

All his concern, during the winter-season, was to find subsistence for his soldiers, and to procure succours from foreign princes. He could meet with no better expedient for getting money, than by selling the church estates of the countries that he had seized. So he set them to sale; and himself, the queen of *Na-*

A. D. 1568. *varre*, the admiral, *D'Andelot*, and the earl *de la Rochefoucault* engaged their whole revenues for the security of the buyers. By this means they raised large sums. Besides this the people of *Rockelle* made the prince of *Conde* a present of sixty thousand crowns, and promised to erect magazines by the help of their privateers, which scoured the sea in great numbers, and pillaged all the catholick merchants, of what nation soever they were.

Camden vie
d'Elizabeth
ad An, 1568,

As to the foreign succours the prince always depended much upon the queen of *England*, whose intentions he knew to be favourable to his party, and who might easily assist him after he was become master of *Rockelle*. Nor was he mistaken: for this princess afforded him all manner of support afterwards. She began at that time with sending him an hundred thousand angels of gold, cannon, and military ammuniti-
on, which were the things he stood most in need of; for he had troops enough.

Castelnau, 1.7.
chap. 6.

The prince had recourse also to the protestant princes of *Germany* as in the last wars. He made a great advantage in this respect of a step that the king had taken, as soon as the hugonots had renewed the war. He had published an edict by which he revoked all those that had been made 'till then, in favour of the hugonots, prohibited the exercise of all other religions but the catholick, in his kingdom, and commanded all the ministers of the new gospel to depart all his dominions; and fifteen days after, he published another at *Paris*, by which he suspended all officers professing calvinism.

These edicts could not fail of causing the hugonots to revolt: but the queen seeing no hopes of containing them, designed by this means to engage the catholicks in her interest, to encourage them by the motive of religion to sacrifice all for the defence of their sovereign, whose interests were so closely link'd with those of the church, and at the same time to re-establish her reputation in the courts of the catholick princes, where it had been very much impaired by the favour she had shewn the hereticks during the king's minority.

The prince of *Conde* did not fail to make his advantage of these new edicts to obtain the succours that he demanded of the protestant princes of *Germany*, by
repre-

representing to them, that the king's design was at last unmask'd, and that it was evident that all that had been done to that time, was only with a view to oppress the followers of the new reformation. Upon this, *Wolfgang, William of Bavaria, duke of Deuxponts*, one of the most zealous protestants in *Germany*, made preparations for raising an army; but did not enter upon his march till the year following.

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The hugonots were also in hopes of great things from the prince of *Orange*, who had already set up the standard of revolt against the king of *Spain*. His first efforts met with bad success by the prudence of the duke of *Alva*, who prevented his making any attempt in the *Low-Countries*, and obliged him to depart with the army which he had brought thither; but such was the disaffection of the people there, that it was difficult to prevent a civil war from soon breaking out.

In this posture stood the affairs of *France* at the end of *an. 1568*. At that time the queen made some proposals for an accommodation to the prince of *Conde*; but the enterprize of *Noyers* had rivetted too great a suspicion in his mind to permit him to give any ear to them.

Several small expeditions passed on both sides, during the winter; the most remarkable of which, was the siege of *Samcerre*, a little town upon the brow of a hill at the extremity of *Berry*.

Martinengue governor of *Gien*, *d' Entragues* governor of *Orleans*, and *la Chatre* bailiff of *Berry*, drew together three thousand foot and some cavalry with five pieces of artillery, to go and attack this paltry town, concluding that it would immediately surrender upon sight of the cannon; but the civil war and the infatuation of heresy seemed to inspire fury, and render the greatest cowards capable of the last degree of rashness.

For want of soldiers, military officers and gentle-men to defend them, the inhabitants placed at their head a lawyer named *Joanneau*, and two other persons called *la Fleur* and *Laurent*. They had but three hundred men that were capable of assisting them, being partly citizens, and partly refugees from the catholick towns, and badly armed: however, they

Popelinere

l. 13.

Castelnau, l. 42

D'Avila, l. 4.

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acted with so much bravery and conduct, that after having sustain'd two assaults, and killed five hundred of the besiegers, they obliged them to break up on the first of *February*, after a siege of above five weeks.

The king, who formed a design of engaging the prince of *Conde* in battle, before he could be join'd by the *German* succurs, ordered the duke of *Anjou* to enter the field betimes, and the army marched for *Angoumois* about the end of *February*. He seized *Chateaufneuf* upon the river *Charente*, and marched from thence to *Coignac*, where the prince of *Conde* had his general quarters, in order to offer him battle.

The prince, who design'd to repair to *la Charite* upon the *Loire*, where he had given the rendezvous to the duke of *Deux-ponts* and the *German* army, contented himself with appearing on the other side the *Charente*.

Memoires de
Tavannes.
Popeliniere.
Discours po-
litiques &
militaires du
Sieur de la
Noue.

This determin'd the duke of *Anjou* to return to *Chateaufneuf*, where, during his march to *Coignac*, the sieurs de *Tavannes* and de *Biron* had caused an arch of the stone bridge, which the hugonots had broken down, to be rebuilt, and the materials to be secretly prepared for building a wooden bridge, to pass the army over it.

The prince of *Conde* and the admiral advanced opposite to *Chateaufneuf*, where some skirmishes pass'd: but within an hour's time the prince withdrew his troops along the river to *Jarnac* and the village of *Bassac*. They left two regiments of infantry and eight hundred horse a quarter of a league from *Chateaufneuf*, with orders for the commanders to give them notice, if the enemy should attempt the passage. The admiral retired to *Bassac*, a league from *Chateaufneuf*, and the prince of *Conde* to *Jarnac*, which was somewhat farther distant.

The troops which they had left at *Chateaufneuf* finding themselves in bad quarter, removed and spread themselves in the villages; and in the mean time, the bridge of wood, and boats, the materials of which were ready to put together, was soon made, and the duke of *Anjou* pass'd over with all his army.

Some scouts, belonging to the admiral, coming up thither early in the morning, found almost the whole army march'd over, and brought him the news of it, to his great surprize. Upon this he immediately sent orders

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orders to the troops, which were quarter'd at a great distance, to come and join him at *Bassac*, where he had only the van; and his design was to retreat, if they came up soon enough; but that was more than they could do, and in the mean time the duke of *Anjou* drew near to *Bassac*, with almost all his army, so that the admiral plainly saw the battle was inevitable.

He thought of nothing more but making his advantage of the situation, which lay very convenient for him. Before the duke came at him, he was obliged to cross two rivers, which he could not get over without great difficulty. The admiral lined them with a great number of harquebusiers, and drew up in order of battle behind.

The viscount *de Martigues* began the fight, by charging the regiment of horse of *Puivert*, which came out of *Vibrac*, to go and join the hugonot army: He broke through it, and had entirely cut it to pieces, if the captains *la Noue*, and *la Loue*, had not been at hand to succour it; after which they retreated in a body, by the help of a thousand harquebusiers whom the admiral caused to advance to support them.

Immediately the duke of *Anjou* detach'd the count *de Brissac* to force the first river, where the engagement was very rough, and the fire of the harquebusiers exceeding great. *D'Andelot*, *la Noue*, and *la Loue*, came up to repulse the count; but he routed them, forced the passage, and took the two captains prisoners.

The admiral presented with a body of cavalry, not to engage, because he saw *Brissac* too well supported, but only to give the harquebusiers time to retreat, and gain the other river, and the side of a pond that he had behind him, where the rest of the hugonot van was posted, being less ambitious of conquest, than solicitous to sustain as little loss as possible.

The duke *de Montpensier* having caused the van, which he commanded, to pass the river, *Brissac*, to whom the duke of *Guise* had join'd himself, push'd his point, and gained the village of *Bassac*.

Two hundred foot were detach'd forward; but the admiral and *D'Andelot* met, charged, and dispersed them.

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The defeat of this detachment was followed with the rout of the other soldiers, that had made themselves masters of *Bassac*, and the duke of *Guise*, and *Brissac* had run a great risk, if, upon their coming out of the village, they had not been supported by twelve hundred harquebusiers, who had at first followed them only at a distance, and by the reisters of the *Rhingrave*, which M. de *Tavannes*, perceiving the disorder they were in, very seasonably caused to advance.

In the mean time the duke of *Anjou* ordered some pieces of artillery to be brought forward, with intent to drive away the harquebusiers, who were behind the ranks to guard the passage of the second river. The duke of *Montpensier*, after some volleys of cannon, attack'd them: but the admiral ran to their assistance, and with so much more assurance, as he saw himself upon the point of being supported by the prince of *Conde*.

This prince, when the fight began, was already within half a league on the other side of *Bassac*, making a retreat, and supposing that the admiral, as they had agreed, was following him: but that lord having been obliged, against his will, to resist the van of the catholick army, the prince was forced to return back again.

He understood, that the streſs lay upon the right of the royal army, and marched up thither with the cavalry of his corps de bataille. He fell on with fury upon the squadrons of the duke of *Guise*, of *Martigues* and *la Valette*, and defeated them. He charged the duke of *Montpensier*, and the dauphin of *Auvergne* his son, who stood their ground, and gave the duke of *Anjou* time to come up, to overwhelm the prince of *Conde* with his numbers, and finish the defeat.

Upon the occasion before us perished this valiant and unfortunate prince. He was disinounted, and unable to recover himself: but, perceiving the sieur d' *Argence*, he called him, and surrendered himself to him. The baron de *Montesquieu* coming up the next moment, and demanding who he was, they told him it was the prince of *Conde*, who was wounded and taken. *Kill him, kill him*, cries he with an oath, and

and upon that he shot him through the head with a pistol.

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All the army look'd upon this action as a horrid piece of brutality: but *Brantôme* assures us, that several of those, that had the freest access to the duke of *Anjou*, had orders not to let the prince escape, if occasion offer'd, and this was owing to the hatred he had conceiv'd against him upon account of the enterprize of *Monceaux*, and some other personal causes of dislike. He was a prince that yielded to no body for valour, wisdom, and contrivance, who had signalized himself upon a thousand occasions; in *Piedmont*, at the battle of *S. Quintin*, at the sieges of *Calais*, *Thionville*, and *Havre*, and at the defense of *Metz*, against the emperor *Charles V.* but had the misfortune to die in arms against his king, and in the profession of heresy.

Brantôme
dans l'éloge
du prince de
Conde.

The duke of *Anjou* pursued the fugitives for the space of two leagues, and turn'd to *Jarnac*, to seize *d'Acier*, who was just arrived there with three thousand harquebusiers: but *d'Acier* did not stay for him, and withdrew to *Coignac*.

It is surprizing, that in so obstinate a fight as this, which lasted from eleven in the morning to five at night, there perished according to the historians, who seem to have been well instructed, but four hundred of the hugonots, and about two hundred of the catholicks. It is very probable, that those of the hugonots, who were killed in the pursuit, are not included in the number, and among these were near one hundred hugonot gentlemen. Many officers also of consideration were taken prisoners. The catholicks, in like manner, lost several gentlemen, and had a great number wounded. This battle had the name of the battle of *Jarnac* or *Bassac*, the places where the greatest efforts were made. It was upon the thirteenth of *March* that this defeat happened to the hugonots.

The death of the prince of *Conde* would have been a mortal blow to the calvinist party, which seem'd to owe its being so well supported to that time, to nothing but the having a prince of the blood at their head, and a prince of such a character, as was he that they had just lost: but the admiral was strongly qualified

A. D. 1569. *lified for an after-game, and never confounded with the greatest misfortunes. He threw the greatest part of his infantry, which had suffer'd but little in the battle, into the places that were most exposed, and set brave commanders over them. His cavalry was still four thousand strong, and he gave a rendezvous to the principal heads at Tonna-charente, whither the queen of Navarre repaired also, with her son Henry prince of Bearn, aged 16 years, and prince Henry son of the late prince of Conde, aged seventeen.*

Popeliniere
l. 15.

D'Avila. l. 4.

The queen of *Navarre* made a speech in the council, not like a woman dismayed at the apprehensions of danger, but like a heroine, and by her discourse, revived the courage of several that thought of retreating, or receiving such conditions as the victorious prince should think fit to impose upon them. It was resolved, that the war should be continued, and accordingly it was declared at the head of the forces, where the act was read, by which the prince of *Bearn* was made head of the calvinist party; and every one took an oath not to desert him, till they had obtain'd a sure and honourable peace. The queen of *Navarre*, as a proof of her resolution, and that of her son, caused a golden medal to be struck at that time, on one side of which was her figure, and on the other that of her son *Henry*, with this inscription: *PAX CERTA, VICTORIA INTEGRA, MORS*

D'Avila l. 4. *HONESTA. Certain Peace, compleat Victory, honourable Death.*

Memoires de
Tavannes.

In the mean time the duke of *Anjou*, who had acquired a great deal of reputation at the battle, where he had very much exposed himself, and had an horse killed under him, was thinking of making his advantage of the victory; but the delay of the great artillery, that was sent him from the arsenal of *Paris*, incapacitated him for attacking any fortified town.

All that he could do, was, to send the count *de Brissac*, with some field-pieces, to storm *Mucidan*, a small town of *Perigord*, which was taken, but at the expence of this brave count's life, who was killed, together with the viscount *de Pompadour*, being both shot through the head with a musket; nor wou'd this prize have made the royal party amends for the loss of these two lords, if it had not besides broken the design

design which the viscount *de Bouniruel* had form'd of joining the admiral with the troops of *Languedoc*.

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The admiral made some motions, as if he design'd to steer for this province, and the duke of *Anjou* was in hopes that his intention was real, to the end that he might follow him, and endeavour to charge him at the passage of the *Garonne*, if he could not come up with him sooner. But while both armies kept each other thus at a bay in *Xaintonge* and *Perigord*, another affair gave the court a great deal of uneasiness. This affair was the duke of *Deux-Ponts*'s army, who was advancing at the head of six thousand *Reisters*, and five thousand *Lansquenets*, to succour the hugonots of *France*.

It had been look'd upon as a matter of the greatest importance, to hinder the *Germans* from entering the kingdom. The duke d' *Aumale* had been sent for this purpose to the frontiers, where he had drawn together as great a force as he could get, had been join'd by six thousand *Swiss*, and by the baron *des Adretz*, who was then of the king's party, and had brought him seventeen ensigns that he had raised in *Dauphine*. The king, to be the readier at hand to give orders, was gone to *Metz* with the queen, where he received, with great joy, the news of the victory ^{Belleforet,} of *Jarnac*. 6.

The duke of *Deux-Ponts* had march'd through *Montbeliard*, and *Franche-Comte*, and had been joined by the prince of *Orange*, who sold him part of the troops that he had carried in vain to the *Low-Countries*, and retained only twelve hundred horse, with whom he followed this *German* prince, having his two brothers, *Henry* and *Lewis* of *Nassau* with him. They found *Movy*, the marquis *de Renel*, and some other *French* gentlemen upon the road, who were of no little service to them, whether we consider the reinforcement of two thousand men, which they brought along with them, or their conducting their army through the most commodious passages in the kingdom.

The duke d' *Aumale* having kept pace with them for some time in *Franche-Comte*, returned to the frontiers of *Burgundy*, to defend that duchy. The duke *de Nemours* had lately been associated with him in the

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the command, which unhappily raised a jealousy between them, that made them lose several favourable opportunities of beating the enemy, and was the cause that the duke of *Deux-Ponts* passed the *Saone* without striking a stroke.

Brantôme
dans l'éloge
de Charles IX.

This news extremely provoked the king, so that he could not forbear reproaching the queen, who, notwithstanding the instances that had been made to her to suffer him to go and command the army in person, could never be brought to consent to it. But the mischief was irrecoverable, and the only comfort that was left, was the hopes they were in of preventing the duke of *Deux-Ponts* passing the river *Loire*, which indeed was the greatest difficulty he had to conquer in his attempt to join the admiral.

Popeliniere
l. 16.

He cross'd *Burgundy* through the *Auxerrois*, being always attended and harassed by the *French* army, and took to the left towards *la Charite*. Here the duke of *Aumale* who commanded alone, because the duke of *Nemours* was fallen ill, left off to pursue the *Germans*, and march'd with great expedition to cross the *Loire* at *Gien*, and meet the duke of *Anjou*, who was approaching. He depended upon it, that the passages of this river being well guarded, the *Germans* could not pass it, without forcing some town; and that having little else but field-pieces, considering the little resolution of the commanders, they would give the duke of *Anjou*, and himself, time to come to their assistance; that after the arrival of the duke of *Anjou*, it would be impossible for them to pass, and the army being already greatly fatigued, by long marches, would fall of itself, and perish.

This reasoning was very just; but in the affairs of war, an accident sometimes ruins the most prudent and well-contrived projects: such an one happened here, which the duke of *Aumale* cou'd not foresee.

Guerchi had been taken prisoner at the battle of *Jarnac*, and set at liberty by the duke of *Anjou*, to the great prejudice of the catholick party, at the intreaty of one of this gentleman's kinsmen. His estate lay round *la Charite*, and he was perfectly acquainted with all the parts thereabouts. The admiral thought him a proper person to give the duke of *Duke-Ponts* some

some light under the difficulty he was reduced to, and accordingly sent him to him.

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Memoires de
Castelnau,
l. 7. c. 5.
Popellniere
l. 16.

The duke was inform'd by him, that the river was fordable at *Pouilli*, two leagues from *la Charite*, and laid hold of the opportunity to pass over some troops and culverines, and attack'd the town, which, through the cowardice or treachery of the governour, whose name I cannot meet with, was surrender'd, after being attack'd for some days, on the twentieth of May.

The taking of *la Charite*, which open'd the *Germans* a passage into the countries on the other side the *Loire*, strangely alter'd the situation of affairs. The duke of *Anjou's* army was very much diminished; and for fear of being inclosed between the *Germans* and the admiral, he withdrew to *Limoges*, whither the queen came to join him, and by her presence revived the courage of the soldiers, promising them money, and that the army should soon be recruited with large supplies, that were coming to her from three different parts, viz. from *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Italy*.

Castelnau, l. 7.
c. 6.

Indeed the pope, and *Cosmi de Medicis*, duke of *Florence*, had raised four thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to send them to the king; *Castelnau Mauvissiere* had been sent to forward the march of *Philbert*, marquis of *Baden*, and had brought him with him into *France*; his army consisting of five thousand reisters, and four thousand lansquenets: the duke of *Alva* had granted the king two thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred reisters, under the command of count *Ernest de Mansfeld*, governour of *Luxembourg*. The *Italians* arrived first, with the duke of *Anjou*, and indeed very seasonably, to put him in a condition to keep the field against the enemy.

Castelnau,
l. 7. c. 5.

In the mean time the duke of *Deux-ponts* approach'd the river of *Vienne* to join the admiral, who was himself also upon the approach. But the duke died of a fever, before he had seen the admiral. Some say he had drunk too much. His march from the *Rhine* to the *Loire* gain'd him a great deal of honour, and was looked upon as a prodigy of military prudence; but the glory of it was less ascribed to him by them that knew him, than to the prince of *Orange*, *Lewis* of *Nassau*,

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sieur de la Noue.

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Nassau, count *Volrod de Mansfeld*, and to the French captains that he had in his army. The death of this duke was not the only loss the protestant party sustain'd : *D'Andelot* was carried off by a malignant fever in May at *Xaintes*. He was the most sincere calvinist of all the lords of the faction, as well as the most exasperated and most dangerous enemy of the catholick party. The count *Volrod of Mansfeld*, after the death of the duke of *Deux-ponts*, assumed the command, and joined the admiral at saint *Trier* on the twenty-third of June.

While these two principal armies received each of them their reinforcements in *Limousin*, the gentlemen and lords of both parties made several attempts with what troops they could get together. *Cateville* an hugonot gentleman of *Normandy*, fell short of surprizing *Dieppe*, and being taken, was beheaded by a sentence of the parliament of *Roan*. The vigilance of *Sarlabous*, governor of *Havre*, was the cause that some other gentlemen of the same party miscarried in a like design upon the same place. Captain *Colombel* surprized the *Chateau d'Exciles*, upon the confines of *Dauphine* and *Piedmont* ; but it was retaken by the catholicks. Several little towns besides, were taken and retaken, upon the frontiers of *Britany* and *Lower Poitou*, and in almost all the provinces of the kingdom, where both parties wasted the country with the ordinary rage of civil war : But at length the main battle was fought in *Higher Poitou*.

The duke of *Anjou* had encamped at a place called *Roche-la-Belle* in *Limousin*, a league from *S. Trier*. This post was very advantageously situated. If the whole army had been in the camp, it would have been difficult to attack them there ; but as the army was not under those regulations that they ought to have been, the captains *la Barthe* and *Goas*, who commanded two of the best regiments, obstinately resolved to encamp on the other side a marsh, behind which they could not be attack'd.

The admiral, who was still stronger than the duke of *Anjou*, presented himself before the camp, which he found inaccessible ; but seeing the two separate regiments, he attacked them. The battle was very bloody. *Strozzi*, who was colonel-general of

of the *French* infantry, placed himself at the head of the two regiments, and wrought wonders; but being overborn with number, he was stopped and taken by *Mouy*. Two and twenty officers, as well captains as lieutenants and ensigns, of the two regiments, and four hundred common soldiers were killed. The rest fled to the intrenchments. The admiral lost also a world of men, and seeing no prospect of forcing the camp, he ordered them to sound a retreat, and the next day, after some skirmishes, he withdrew, in order to march for *Perigord*.

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The duke of *Anjou* followed him for some time; but his troops being greatly fatigued, and much diminished by the desertion, he withdrew to *Tours*, whither the king and queen were come, and quartered his troops in the places that were most exposed.

The admiral finding himself master of the field, thought of nothing less than the conquest of all *Poitou*; resolved upon the siege of *Poitiers*, and invested the town on the twenty second of *July*.

This was one of the most famous sieges of that time. *Guy d'Aillon*, count *de Lude*, governor of *Poitou*, threw himself into the town to defend it. The young duke of *Guise*, with the marquis *de Mayenne*, his brother, being upon the march at the head of twelve thousand horse, and guessing at the admiral's design, led up this troop thither, without waiting for the orders of the court. He acted constantly, during the siege, in concert with the count *de Lude*, and they made excellent preparations in the town to defend it. Nothing was wanting either in the defence or the attack, that could be expected from the valour of the bravest soldiers, and the ability of the greatest officers, excepting that the admiral did not take his measures rightly at first; but was several times obliged to change the attack.

Memoires de
Tavannes.

The resistance was such, that the general despaired of taking the town any other way than by starving it out after seven or eight weeks siege. Accordingly provisions began to be very scarce there. The count *de Lude* had sent the duke of *Anjou* word of the extremity to which he was reduced, who endeavoured to succour him, drew up his army, and set forward for *Poitiers* in the beginning of *September*.

Memoires de
Castelnau, l.
7. c. 7.

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The admiral's army was very much weaken'd at this siege, as well by sickness as the fire of the besiegers, and several of his principal officers being taken ill, had been obliged to retire. He resolv'd, however, to attend the duke of *Anjou* in his entrenchments; but this prince, who was not for hazarding a battle, without an extreme necessity, chose rather to make a diversion.

Discours politiques & militaires du Sieur de la Noue.

He went to besiege *Chatebraud*, which captain *la Noue* had surprized before the siege of *Poitiers*, and play'd so briskly upon it, that within three days there was a breach large enough to storm it by. The admiral chose rather not to take *Poitiers*, than to lose *Chatebraud*, and it was pretended that he was not over sorry to have this pretence to raise the siege, the success of which appeared always uncertain to him. He decamped on the seventh of *September*. As soon as the duke of *Anjou* knew that the siege of *Poitiers* was intirely raised, he withdrew from before *Chatebraud*, and placed the river *Creuse* between him and the admiral.

Hist. des Princes d'Orange.

This general pass'd the river above, and came and posted himself within sight of the duke; but found him so well entrenched, that he durst not attack him. So he returned back again, and came to encamp at *Faye-la-Vinense*, where the prince of *Orange* took his leave of him to return to *Germany*, and execute the projects that he had formed upon the *Low-Countries*; but he left *Lewis* and *Henry* of *Nassau* his brothers with him.

D'Avila, l. 5.

As soon as *Poitiers* was deliver'd, the duke of *Guise* departed with his brother, and came to wait upon the king at *Tours*, where he was received according to the merit of the service he had done. His reward was a place in the cabinet-council, to which he had not yet been admitted. The cardinal of *Lorraine*, his uncle, expressed all the satisfaction imaginable, to see him return from so glorious an exploit. From that time, he and all the partisans of his family looked upon him as a person capable of treading in the steps of the late duke his father, and of being placed hereafter at the head of the catholick party: Too true a presage for the good of *France*, and which had been more fortunate for the country, if this young prince had been able to govern his ambition.

During

During the siege of *Poitiers*, *Sansac* sat down before *la Charite*, but was obliged to raise the siege, and the hugonots surprized *Aurillac* in *Auvergne*; but they made another expedition more important than that in its consequences.

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La Terride, governor of *Querci*, had in a short time reduced all *Bearn* and the other domains of the queen of *Navarre*, excepting *Navarrins*, which he besieged. Captain *Basillon* and *John de Gassion*, at that time attorney general in the supreme council of *Bearn*, defended this place with much valour, and kept *la Terride* before it for two months.

Genealogie
de la Maison
de Gassion.

Montgomery was ordered by the queen of *Navarre* to go and relieve the town, who arrived at *Bearn*, notwithstanding many obstacles; and *Montluc* ingenuously confesses, that he and the mareschal de *Damville* governor of *Languedoc*, suffer'd themselves to be surprized, being persuaded that he was coming into *Languedoc* to support those of his own party there, and it was too late before they discovered his true design. He caused the siege of *Navarrins* to be broken up; besieged *la Terride* in the *Chateau d'Orthes*, having first taken the city, and made him prisoner, after which all the towns and even *Pau*, the capital of *Bearn*, submitted to the law of the conqueror. To increase the misfortune, a misunderstanding arose between *Damville* and *Montluc*; and *Montgomery* had as much time as he wanted to establish himself in his conquest. This was the preservation of the hugonot party, and the remedy to which they had recourse after the misfortune which happened to them in *Poitou* in the manner I am now going to describe.

Comment de
Montluc l. 7.

As the court had no hopes of seeing an end put to the civil war by any method of accommodation, by reason of the great forces of the hugonot party, they resolved to hazard a battle upon the first opportunity, if another expedient, which they were going upon, should not succeed. This expedient was a design of murdering the admiral, as the person that was the very soul and pillar of the whole faction. With this view, the parliament, in the beginning of *September*; at the request of the attorney general, condemned him to death as a felon, and a rebel, and guilty of high-treason. A price was set upon his head, and fifty five

Thouands l. 45

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thousand crowns of gold promised to any person that should kill or take him, which indeed had like to have cost him his life, for one of his valets de chambre resolved to poison him; but was discovered and hanged, and the admiral kept himself more than ever upon his guard afterwards.

Popeliniere,
L. 1.

The duke of *Anjou* having re-assembled all his forces about the end of *September*, and taken a review of his army at *Ckinon*, found it consisted of eighteen thousand foot, and seven thousand horse. The admiral had but twelve thousand infantry, and six thousand horse, which inferiority of number deterr'd him from giving battle; but the *Germans* requiring him either to engage or dismiss them, he was not at liberty to avoid it.

Relation de
la bataille de
Moncontour,
imprimée en
1569.

The duke of *Anjou* departing from *Ckinon*, marched through *Lodunois* with a design to seize the little town of *Moncontour*, in order to intercept the passage of the calvinists to *Lower Poitou*, whither, as they were masters of several towns there, they might easily fly in case of a defeat, and defend themselves, as they had done after the battle of *Jarnac* in the towns of *Angoumois* and *Saintonge*.

The admiral having penetrated his design, endeavour'd to prevent it, by making himself master of *Moncontour* before him, and made so much haste, that he arrived within two leagues of it, in the plain of *S. Clair* with his van-guard on the last of *September*. His corps de bataille arrived afterwards, which he caused to march with his artillery to *Moncontour*, which the captains *la Noue* and *la Loue* had already taken possession of. It was *Mouy's* fault that his army was thus separated; for this captain being unacquainted with the country, contrary to his wonted method, assured him that the duke of *Anjou's* army was a great way off, and that there were only some harquebusiers in the neighbourhood, that were entrenched in the valley, and some small companies of horse detached for skirmishing.

Upon this report, the admiral made no great haste, nor begun to enter upon his march till three of the clock in the afternoon: But he had hardly begun his march, when the catholick van appeared, commanded by the duke of *Montpensier*, who immediately charged
some

some troops of the hugonot rear, and defeated them.

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Upon this the admiral expedited his march to *Moncontour*, and made no stop till he had passed a little river, where he thought himself secured against the cavalry, by reason of the marshes that bounded it in several places.

He faced about, and having encouraged his soldiers, by assuring them, that the enemy had not their whole army with them, and that it was only a small detachment; he lined the river with harquebusiers, resolved to stand the brunt, if they should attempt an attack.

In the mean time, *Armand de Biron*, who commanded the artillery, having caused several pieces of cannon to be brought up, on a sudden, fired upon the admiral's troops, and especially upon the lansquenets, who, to avoid the fire, laid themselves upon the ground; but without quitting their ranks. At the same time, the duke of *Montpensier* caused his infantry to come forward to the river, to force the admiral's foot to abandon it, who bravely bore the fire of the catholick harquebusiers, and answered them for a long time, which saved the calvinist vanguard; for the night coming on, the duke of *Montpensier* was obliged to withdraw his harquebusiers, and to leave off firing.

The admiral decamped some hours after, without the sound of trumpet or beat of drum, and in very great disorder, stopp'd at a league distance between two rivers to rest his men, and two hours before day, continued his march to *Moncontour*. He would not have stopped there, if he had been master of his army, but would have marched on for *Lower Poitou*. But the *Germans* were resolutely bent upon fighting; and this battle upon the plain of *S. Clair*, was only the prelude to that, which was fought three days after.

The duke of *Anjou* constantly pursuing his design, turned from the admiral to the left, for no other reason, but to get between him and *Lower Poitou*, and with this view, passed the river of *Dive* above *Moncontour* towards *la Grimaudiere*. After this, he drew near the admiral again, who being forced to come to a battle, advanced towards the duke's army, and posted himself between *Thoue* and *Dive*, covering his

A. D. 1569. right wing with the former, and his left with the other.

His army was divided into two bodies; he gave the command of one of them to count *Nassau*, and placed himself upon the left at the head of the other.

The duke of *Anjou* marched in order of battle through the plain of *Assay*; and being well instructed how the enemy's army was disposed, which he had caused to be viewed from off the hills, he divided his own also into two bodies, placed himself at the head of one of them, and gave the other to the duke of *Montpensier*. Besides this, he had a corps de reserve under the command of *Biron*.

These two armies were ranged in such manner, that all the troops might fight at the same time, as it happened in the event; and this action was a drawn battle in all the forms.

They cannonaded each other for near four hours, till two a clock in the afternoon, when the duke of *Montpensier*, by the orders of the duke of *Anjou*, caused his forlorn hope, supported by some squadrons of cavalry, to advance. These squadrons were commanded by the duke of *Guise* and *Martigues*, who charged those of *Mouy* and *la Loue* so furiously, that they dissipated them. At the very same instant, the marquis de *Resnel* and *d'Anticourt* fell upon *Martigues*. This lord sustained the brunt with a great deal of courage, and being seconded by the count de *Santafiore*, at the head of some *Italian* squadrons, supported by two thousand harquebusiers under the command of the captains *la Barthe* and *Sarlabous*, repulsed them, and disordered their ranks, and *d'Anticourt* was killed.

The admiral seeing so unhappy a beginning, and that in the same place six troops of reisters pressed hard upon the men commanded by *d'Acier*, ordered three regiments of *French* harquebusiers to advance immediately, commanding them to fire only upon the horse. He went himself so far with *Teligni* and *la Noue*, that if count *Valrod* of *Mansfeld* had not made haste to support him, and stop the fury of the reisters of the catholick party, who began to inclose him, he would have run a great risk of his life; nor did he disingage him-

himself as it was, till he had been wounded with a pistol-shot upon his left cheek near the nose.

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The fury with which count *Valrod* charged the duke of *Montpensier's* reisters, prevented the rout of the admiral's left wing, which began to give way. The count dissipated the reisters in such manner, that it was impossible for them to rally; and pursuing his point, he put all that came before him to flight.

The duke of *Anjou*, who had not yet engaged, and was very much incommoded by the hugonot artillery, detach'd the duke *d'Aumale* and the marquis of *Baden* against *Mansfeld*, who received them. The marquis of *Baden* was killed, his squadron defeated, and that of the duke *d'Aumale* very roughly handled.

The duke of *Anjou* seeing *Mansfeld* at a stand, to rally his men and prepare for a fresh charge, turn'd towards him with all the lords that attended him; and at the same instant count *Nassau*, who commanded the right wing of the hugonots, marched up thither to intercept the duke of *Anjou*.

These two troops encountred each other in a furious manner. The duke of *Anjou* immediately, at a near distance, sustained the discharge of one hundred harquebusiers on horse-back, by which several of those that were about his person, were destroyed. At the same instant, count *Nassau* pouring in upon him with his *French* squadrons, penetrated as far as the corner, and broke the squadron; and the duke of *Anjou* having had his horse slain under him, would have been killed or taken, if the marquis *de Villars* had not speedily relieved him, and set him upon another horse. Upon this the fight became more bloody than at first, count *Nassau* maintaining his ground, and the *French* nobility continually pressing his ranks, and flocking together about the prince, to secure him from the danger to which he was exposed.

As soon as the duke of *Anjou* began to give ground, *Tavannes* ran to the mareschal *de Cossé*, to cause him to advance with the *Swiss* batallion of *Phisser*, the flank of which he covered with his gendarmes.

The mareschal marched slowly, because he had the calvinist lansquenets a head of him, who were disposed in good order, and he was unwilling to attack them at a disadvantage; but being advertised of the duke of

A. D. 1569. *Anjou's* danger, he doubled his pace, and having opposed the *Swiss* to the *Lansquenets*, to prevent their falling upon the duke of *Anjou*, he ran to the assistance of this prince at the head of his gendarmes.

Count *Nassau* turned against him, and march'd up to meet him; but was unable to hold out against the lances of the gendarmes, and against the force of the great horses they were mounted upon, which in a moment crush'd his light horse, and entirely broke them. *Biron* coming up with a party of troops de reserve, hindered him from rallying, and compleated the rout of the hugonot cavalry.

This lord went afterwards to the *Swiss*, and commanded them to charge the *Lansquenets*, which they did with their usual bravery; and the *Lansquenets* having born the brunt for some time, and seeing themselves abandon'd by the cavalry, and ready to be broken, by *Biron* and the duke of *Anjou*, whom they saw also marching up to them, gave over fighting.

Brantôme
dans l'éloge
de Philippe
Strocci.

There was a great slaughter made upon this occasion; for of four thousand *lansquenets*, there were left but five hundred: the *Swiss*, at all times their declared enemies, gave no quarter, crying out with the *French*, *Roche-la-Belle*; by which they meant the battle above-mention'd, where the colonel general *Strocci* was taken prisoner, and the hugonots unmercifully killed almost all the catholick soldiers that fell into their hands.

After the defeat of the body commanded by count *Nassau*, the admiral, and count *Valrod* of *Mansfeld*, used all their endeavours, but to no purpose, to renew the fight, and were themselves forced to fly. They retreated to *Parthenai*, and from thence to *Niort*. Count *Nassau* retreated with three thousand horse that he had got together again, and in good order, turning head, from time to time, against those that pursued him.

The young princes of *Bearn* and *Conde* were at this battle; but the admiral would not suffer them to fight: he obliged them to continue in the rear of the army, and upon the first onset, which, as I observed before, did not appear very successful to him, he caused them to pass the river *Thoue*, and go to *Parthenai*. The preservation of these two princes was

was of the last consequence to him, because they had been recognized as the two heads of the calvinist-party, and he commanded only under the cover of their authority.

This was a most compleat victory. All the *German* baggage, part of the *French*, eleven pieces of artillery, and above one hundred colours, were taken. Some historians say, the hugonots lost seventeen thousand men; but *Castelnau*, who was present, and others, who must have had the best information, reckon only five thousand five hundred, that were killed on the part of the conquered; besides that, the fight did not last above an hour, according to the *sieur de la Noue*, who was there also, and was taken prisoner. Most of the *German* captains perished.

A. D.
1569.
D'Avila, l. 5.
Castelnau, l. 7.
chap. 9.
Popeliniera
l. 19.
La Noue.
discours po-
litiques &
militaires.

At the conclusion of the battle, three thousand *French*, and five hundred *Lansquenets*, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. The conquerors lost above five hundred horse, and some few infantry. Count *Rhingrave* having met the admiral in the fray, they fired their pistols at each other; *Rhingrave* wounded the admiral, but the admiral killed him upon the spot.

The news of this great victory was brought to the king, at *Tours*, by *Albert de Gondi*, earl of *Retz*, on the third of *October*, upon which they made great rejoycings, and dispatch'd couriers to acquaint the foreign princes of it. The duke of *Anjou's* reputation, already grown famous by the victory of *Jarnac*, increased greatly, throughout all *Europe*, by this second victory, in which he had shew'd all the valour and intrepidity imaginable, in the greatest dangers that he had been exposed to.

It was every where believed, that the calvinist party was destroyed in *France*; but they were mistaken, the admiral, notwithstanding so many losses succeeding upon the back of one another, did not sink under them; and it is difficult to say, whether he gained more reputation by four victories, than by the constancy, resolution, and conduct, which he shew'd after four defeats, * to such a degree, that by rallying the broken remains of his army, he became more formidable than ever to the victorious party.

• Dreux
S. Denys,
Jarnac, Mon-
contour.

Being

A. D.
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Being arrived at *Niort*, with the two young princes, he spoke with so much eloquence, notwithstanding his wound, which had dashed out four of his teeth, represented so livelily the resources that he had still remaining in *Germany*, and *England*, at *Rockelle*, and in *Bearn*, where *Montgomery* had taken possession, and had an army in pay, that he revived the fallen courage of the nobility and soldiers. The queen of *Navarre*, on the other hand, put on a countenance, as if she had not been at all dismayed at the loss of the battle; and the king having sent *Castelnau*, to persuade her to submit, with the admiral, she gave him such general answers, as shew'd, that she wou'd hearken to no other proposals for peace, than such as were capable of procuring safety to her own party, and liberty of conscience to all those that adhered to it.

Castelnau, l. 4.
c. 10.

The admiral having deliberated with the two princes, and the principal officers of the army, it was concluded, to abandon the towns of *Poitou*, and to preserve on the other side the *Loire*, only *S. John d' Angeli*, *Rockelle*, *Angouleme*, and *la Charite*, which were all in a condition to hold out for a long time; to retire to the mountains of *Auvergne*, *Vivaraïs*, *Languedoc*, and *Gascogne*; to keep up the war in all these different places, without making any hazardous attempt, in order to give the succours from *Germany* and *England* time to arrive; and finally, to endeavour to join the earl of *Montgomery*, who was sufficiently furnished with troops to re-establish their affairs.

He had already dispatch'd some messengers to the queen of *England*, to the protestant princes of *Germany*, and to the *Swiss* of the same religion, to give them an account how the affairs of the party stood in *France*: He wrote to the most considerable of the hugonot nobility, in several parts of the kingdom; conjured them not to lose their courage, and having left *Mouy* at *Niort*, to keep the duke of *Anjou* for some time before this town, he departed on the ninth of *October*, with what troops he could get together, taking the road through *Querci* to *Montauban*, in order to go from thence into *Gascogne*.

Popeliniere
l. 20.

The duke of *Anjou*, as soon as the admiral began to be at some distance, made himself master of *Parthenai*,

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1569.

thenai, then of *Lusignan*, *Niort*, *Fontenai*, and *Chatebraut*. All the towns of *Berry* surrendered, in like manner, to *la Chaire* governor of this province for the king, excepting *Sancerre*, which held out for the hugonot party, as well as some other small towns in the neighbourhood of *la Charite*, by which they might hope to be supported. The duke spread abroad a report, that he was gone to besiege *Rochelle*, and turn'd on a sudden to *S. John d' Angeli*. The king and queen came to the camp before this town, on the twenty-sixth of *October*. It was vigorously defended by captain *Piles*, who held out to the twelfth of *December*, and destroyed ten thousand of the besiegers, the greatest part of which were carried off by distempers, that arose in the camp. The greatest of their losses, upon this occasion, was that of *Sebastian* of *Luxembourg* viscount of *Martigues*, who was shot through the head with an *harquebuss*. He was governor of *Britanny*, and this government was given to the duke of *Montpensier*.

The king gave great proofs of his courage during the siege. He went often to the trenches, and exposed himself to the most dangerous situations, notwithstanding the opposition of the queen; and it was upon this occasion that he declared, He would readily agree with his brother the duke of *Anjou*, to command the army, and govern the kingdom alternatively, that upon this condition, he should with pleasure see him wear the crown for six months in a year.

Brantôme
dans l'Eloge
de Charles IX.

During the time of the siege, several commanders of the catholick party took some small towns, and attempted others; but the hugonots made themselves amends by surprizing *Nismes*.

The siege of *S. John d' Angeli*, was the last of the duke of *Anjou's* conquests in this campaign: but the count of *Lude* took *Marans*, and *Marennés*, in the winter. The isles of *Xaintonge* were abandoned by the calvinists, excepting the isle of *Re*; so that *Rochelle* was in a manner block'd up by land, and in some measure by sea also. *Landerau*, an excellent sea-officer, went to cruise before *Rochelle*, and for some time invested the privateers of that city, but was taken by *la Noue* at the sands of *Olonne*, which this captain carried by storm. *La Noue*, after his escape

A. D. 1569. *escape out of prison, made several expeditions into Xaintonge; surprized Marans, which greatly annoy'd Rockelle, and gave the catholick commanders of those quarters much trouble. He defeated a considerable body of troops, commanded by captain Puy Gaillard, who lost four hundred men that were killed upon the spot, and five hundred that were taken prisoners. Two and twenty ensigns were taken; and a fort, which Puy-Gaillard had caused to be built before Lucon, to prevent the irruptions of the hugonots on that side, surrendered.*

Popeliniere
l. 23.

After this *la Noue* attack'd *Fontenay*, and took it; but had his arm broke with the shot of an *harquebuss*, and was forced to have it cut off. The consequence of the defeat of *Lucon*, was not only the taking of *Fontenay* by the calvinists, but also that of *Brouage*, *Xaintes*, and the isle of *Oleron*. *Rockelle*, by the taking of these places, was more at liberty than formerly, and the affairs of the hugonots were again established in *Xaintonge*, the country of *Auniz*, and *Lower Poitou*.

To return to the army of the princes of *Bearn* and *Conde*, and of the admiral. They arrived at *Montauban*, extremely fatigued and incommoded, which occasioned the loss of many of their soldiers. Their design was to join the earl of *Montgomery*, who was already arrived at *Condom*, but had the *Garonne* to pass. They made a bridge over this river, at port *S. Mary* below *Agen*. *Montluc* beat this bridge to pieces, by the help of a mill which he broke down, and which being driven by the current of the river, split the brass of which it was composed. *Montluc* said, That this was the most important of all the services he had yet done the king.

Montluc, l. 7.

Indeed this accident obliged the admiral to go back to *Toulouse*, having first caused the earl of *Montgomery* to pass over with some boats, of which he had so few, that the troops took up six days in the passage.

Montluc had orders at that time to go and command in *Bearn*. His brother, the bishop of *Valence*, borrow'd some money for him upon that account: for the court sent him an order, but neither furnished him with money nor ammunition.

The nobility, of whom he was greatly beloved, followed him. He besieg'd *Rabasteins*, one of the strongest places in the country, and received a shot of an harquebus at the assault, that pierced both his cheeks: however, the place was taken, and the garrison put to the sword. His wound prevented the progress which he might have otherwise made in *Bearn*. The infantry disbanded for want of pay, and the nobility, being jealous of his power, retired home.

A. D.

1570.


In the mean time the admiral being excluded passing the *Garonne* by *Montluc*, had nothing to do but to have recourse to his ordinary refuge, to the *German* succours, which the count palatine of the *Rhine*, and the prince of *Orange*, gave him hopes of; but the difficulty was how to get to the frontier. For this purpose, it was necessary for him to traverse all *France*, with exhausted and tatter'd troops, without money, without artillery, and to expose himself to the danger of meeting the catholicks, several small bodies of whom were dispersed about the provinces, and to the irruptions of the garrisons of an infinite number of the enemy's towns, that were upon the road.

However, he was under a necessity of resolving upon this method, because the country in which he was then posted, was entirely ruined. He took the road for *Nismes*, where his army rested some days, entred *Vivarais*, where several towns held out for him, and was reinforced with some troops raised by *Montbrun*. He passed the *Rhone* by the help of some hugo- not troops that waited for him on the other side; received some fresh recruits from *Montbrun*, crossed *Eorez* and *Beaujolois*, being continually harassed by the catholick parties, and entering *Burgundy*, made himself master of *Arnay-le-Duc*.

Here the mareschal de *Cosse* came up with an army of twelve thousand foot and four thousand horse: The admiral had but two thousand five hundred harquebusiers, and two thousand horse. However, he posted himself so conveniently, that when the mareschal came to attack him, he was repulsed with loss. The admiral continued his march, and as he had no cannon, and but little baggage, he easily got the start of him, and arrived at *la Charite*, and as the mareschal was

appre-

A. D. apprehensive of his going to *Paris*, he marched that way to intercept him.

1570.  Notwithstanding the fury with which they engaged *Castelnau*, l. 7. in *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, *Gascogne* and *Burgundy*, they continued the negotiation, which *Castelnau-Maurvissiere* had enter'd upon after the battle of *Moncontour*, as I have observed before. Several proposals were made on both sides, but were constantly rejected, because those of the hugonots struck too much at the king's authority, and those of the court did not procure a sufficient security to the hugonots. However, matters were come to such a point, that both sides were desirous of peace.

The king and queen resolved, whatever it cost them, to see the foreign troops out of the kingdom, as well the *Germans* that were in the hugonots pay, as those that were in the king's pay, and the *Spanish* and *Italian* troops, that were come to his assistance. Besides that, the queen had at that time thoughts of taking other measures to put an end to the war.

On the other hand, the admiral found himself very weak, and expected only a moderate succour from *Germany*, because he knew that the prince of *Orange*, who formed new designs upon the *Low Countries*, would carry off great part of the troops raised by the count *Palatin*. Count *Valrod* of *Mansfeld* and his reisters, who, to the time of their arrival at the river *Loire*, had appeared very zealous for the common cause, seeing themselves near their own country, began to grumble at their not being pay'd, and threatned to quit the army.

All these considerations disposed the admiral to an accommodation, and made him subject his ambition and the pleasure of commanding, to necessity. He thought only of the glory of making an advantageous treaty for his party. *Biron* and the sieur de *Mesmede-Malassisse*, had already greatly promoted this affair at *S. Stephen de Forez*, with *Teligni* and *Beauvais la Noche*, before the battle at *Arnay-le-Duc*, and at length these same four deputies concluded the treaty at *S. Germain en Laye*. The articles, to the number of forty six, are related in the edict of pacification, dated from *S. Germain* in *August 1570*.

Besides

A. D.
1570.

Besides the articles common to the preceding edicts of pacification, the places are here specified, in which the hugonots were permitted to hold their assemblies. The modifications added to the edicts by that of *Roussillon*, were taken off; but the most considerable of all the concessions, was that of the four cities of security, which were to be delivered up to the princes of *Bearn* and *Conde*, and which they were allowed to retain for two years. These were *Rockelle*, *la Charite*, *Montauban*, and *Coignac*, all four of great importance for their situation. The first left the hugonots a free sea, to receive succours from *England*, in case of a new revolt; the second was a free passage over the *Loire*, which served for a communication of the faction on both sides that river with each other. The third was upon the frontiers of *Languedoc* and *Quercy*, and the fourth in *Angoumois*, provinces in which the number of those of the new reformation exceeded that of the catholicks.

The hugonots were moreover declared in the edict capable of all offices, employments and dignities, and permitted in any suit with the catholicks, to challenge a certain number of the jury, without giving a reason for their so doing. Finally the principality of *Orange*, which the king had seized upon occasion of the civil war, was restored to that prince.

If the hugonots had had all the advantages over the catholicks, that the catholicks had over them, they could hardly have hoped for more favourable conditions for their party. The admiral got great honour by the treaty, both in *Germany* and *England*: But the king and queen had their views, which in time succeeded. The chief of the calvinists had some mistrust of the affair, and met at *Rockelle*, to consider upon ways and means to prevent their being surprized.

They affected so great a freedom for the execution of the treaty, that the admiral was surprized at it. He ascribed this change of conduct to the king, who being then turn'd of twenty, and weary, as they call'd it, of being led by the nose by the queen mother, began to take possession of the government in person, and resolved from that time to reign at ease. Indeed this prince called the treaty of *S. Germain*, *His peace*, intimating that he had made it, notwithstanding the

*Memoires de
Sully. l. 2.
c. 3.*

oppo-

A. D.

1570.

opposition of his council, of the queen mother, and the house of *Guise*.

The heads of the hugonots, partly to make their advantage of the king's favourable dispositions towards them, partly to discover whether they were sincere, made several demands of him. Some he granted, others he refused, and all in such a manner, as to let them see, that it was not done out of any fear of the hugonots, but only out of a desire to maintain peace and tranquillity in the kingdom.

Teligni, *Briquemaut*, and *Arnaud de Cavagne*, judge in the supreme court of justice at *Toulouse*, were the persons that came to court to treat of these affairs.

A. D. 1571 They assisted at the marriage of the king with *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, daughter of the emperor *Maximilian*, which was solemnized at that time, and return'd well pleased with the king, and the success of their negotiation.

Hist. de Mat-
thieu. L. 6.

The king and the queen mother's design, was to draw the heads of the hugonot party to court, and they managed this affair with all the cunning and dissimulation imaginable. The queen of *Navarre*, and the princes, having made some complaints, touching the non-observation of the last edict, the mareschal *de Cossé* was sent upon this pretence to *Rockelle*: but in reality, to propose a marriage to the queen of *Navarre*, between her son *Henry* and madam *Margaret* of *France*.

The proposal of this marriage, at which cardinal *Alexandrinus*, who was come from the pope to the court of *France*, expressed a great deal of uneasiness, thoroughly convinced the heads of the hugonot party, that the king had a sincere design to maintain peace, and be perfectly reconciled to them: but that which confirmed them in this sentiment, and was exceedingly agreeable to them, was, the mareschal *de Cossé*'s giving them to understand, That the king, to employ the restless spirits of both parties, had thoughts of making war upon the king of *Spain*, for the doing of which he did not want a pretence; that the fresh revolt of the gueux of the *Low-Countries*, which was just broken out by the rising of several towns for the prince of *Orange*, was a favourable opportunity, and that there wanted not a disposition to make use of it.

This

This was the least doubtful proof the king could give the hugonots of the sincerity of his intentions; because, that in breaking with *Spain*, he deprived himself of the strongest support he could have against them, and shew'd, that he was no more influenced by the counsels of the house of *Lorraine*. A. D. 1571.

The queen of *Navarre* wrote to the king, That she accepted, with all her heart, of the honour he did her son, in giving his sister to him in marriage; and, upon this answer, *M. de Biron* was sent to desire her to come to court, in order to conclude the affair out of hand.

The importance of the business made her consent to the journey, notwithstanding her suspicions, which she could not intirely get rid off. The king, to do her the greater honour, went as far as *Blois* to meet her, shew'd her all the marks of a most sincere friendship for her, and a most cordial confidence in her, and was so well pleased with the conduct he had observed upon his first interview, that he asked the queen-mother, with joy, *Whether he had not well play'd his part?* who, answering, *Yes; but it signified nothing to begin, unless he finished also;* he reply'd, with an oath, which was a common custom with him, *That he would have them all in the net.* The articles of the treaty of marriage were soon concluded, and the queen of *Navarre*, though with some difficulty, followed the king to *Paris*, in order to make preparations for the marriage-ceremony. A. D. 1572

It was something for the king to have this princess in his power, but the main point was to draw the admiral into the net. They could not tell how to effect this; and it was highly necessary for them to take heed of shewing too great an eagerness for it. But while they were deliberating upon the matter, the admiral himself furnished them with a very proper opportunity of pressing him to come to court.

He had the war with *Spain* greatly at heart, after the overture which the mareschal de *Cosse* had made him upon this article at *Rockelle*. He sent count *Lewis* of *Nassau* to solicit the king upon it, not so much in his own name, as in that of the prince of *Orange*, by reason of the favourable conjuncture in which the affairs of the *Low-Countries* then were.

A. D.

1572.

There arose great revolts, and the complaints against the duke of *Alva* were almost universal, being equally hated by the people and great men. The *Gueux*, who were called *Aquaticks* because they scoured the sea, and seized the catholick vessels, especially when there was any thing that belong'd to the *Spaniards*: had made themselves masters of the *Brille*, a town of the isle of *Vorn* in *Holland*. The other towns, scarce any excepted but *Amsterdam*, revolted. The sedition spread to *Zeland*, *Frise*, *Overyssel*, the earldom of *Zutphen*, and *Guelders*. The duke of *Alva* was at a loss what way to take, and as he was no stranger to the report, That *France* had thoughts of declaring war upon *Spain*, he was apprehensive, lest, while he was engaged in *Holland*, and *Frise*, the *French* should invade *Artois* and *Hainault*.

Mathieu, l.

5.

Such was the difficult situation of the *Low-Countries*, when count *Lewis* of *Nassau* arrived in a disguise at *Brie*, where the king then was to take the diversion of hunting.

The count represented to the king, how easy it was for him, at such a conjuncture, to make himself master of the seventeen provinces, where the people were so enraged against the duke of *Alva*, that they would open their towns to him; besides that, there was scarce one, in which the prince of *Orange* had not some friends.

The king seem'd to hearken to his proposal with pleasure, and to express his satisfaction for the zeal he shew'd for his glory, and the increase of his dominions. He told him, That he would consider carefully of it; that a rupture with the king of *Spain*, who was a powerful and wise prince, might be attended with extraordinary consequences, and therefore he could not hastily resolve upon it; that above all, he had need of the admiral's advice, whom he look'd upon as the most experienced soldier in his kingdom, and the person that could best direct him in this affair; besides, that if he should declare war against *Spain*, he should intrust none but him with the command, having some suspicion of the other generals that might be employ'd in it, by reason of their alliances with the court of *Spain*, of which he was well informed; and lastly, that it was necessary for the
admiral

admiral to come to him, that they might consider together, what measures were proper to be taken for an enterprize of that importance.

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Count *Nassau*, being greatly satisfied with so agreeable an answer, set out immediately for *Rockelle*, gave the admiral an account of it, and conjured him to lay hold of so lucky an opportunity, that tended to raise him to the highest pitch of credit and power, and to put him in a condition of doing the best service to his friends, his allies, and his religion.

The marshals of *Montmorency*, and *Cosse*, to whom count *Nassau* had imparted this affair, wrote very pressing letters to the admiral, and such as were intirely agreeable to what count *Nassau* told him by word of mouth; so that having taken some little time to weigh the matter, he determined at last to go to court.

The king carrying always the same appearance, received the admiral in such a manner as might, in all reason, satisfy his vanity. He granted him fifty gentlemen of his own choosing for his guard; paid him all his charges; gave him a place in council, and loaded him with favours. He shew'd a great deal of kindness also to the earl of *Rocheboucaur*, to *Teligni*, and *la Noue*, whom the admiral had brought along with him; nor was there any one courtier, with whom he seemed to discourse more freely than with these three lords.

Memoires de
la Reine Mar-
guerite. T. 24

To carry on this comedy the better, *Schomberg* was sent to the protestant princes of *Germany*, to make a treaty of alliance wth them, and a negotiation was purposely begun in *England*, or rather, that which had been already begun there, for the marriage of the duke of *Anjou* with queen *Elizabeth*, was more briskly carried on than ever. This princess, who had fixed her resolution, and was determined not to marry, seemed sometimes unresolved, upon the proposal of marriage with the duke of *Anjou*; sometimes she rejected it; and it was a long time that she carried on this farce, with regard as well to that prince as the duke of *Alen-son*: but that which wonderfully rejoiced the admiral, was the treaty, which was confirmed in *June*, between this princess and the king, touching a defensive league against all those that should oppose them; and it was especially provided, That in case the king

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Rocuil de
Traites par
Leon. T. 2.

of *Spain* should seize or detain, in his ports, the vessels of the two nations, which often happened, then the king of *France*, and the queen of *England*, should reciprocally assist each other.

But that which removed all the admiral's fears, and convinced him that the king was determined to declare war against *Spain*, was his shutting his eyes at count *Nassau*, when he raised a great number of hugonot soldiers to conduct them to the *Low-Countries*, and with which he surprised *Mons*.

This conduct of the king was so offensive to *Philip II.* that his ambassador withdrew from the court of *France*. The rupture between the two crowns cou'd not have been nearer upon the point, and it was difficult for the admiral not to be deceived by all these appearances.

During these transactions, and while they were making preparations for the marriage of the prince of *Bearn*, the queen of *Navarre* fell ill in the beginning of *June*, and was carried off in six days time by her distemper on the 10th of the same month. The cause of her death was an ulcer in the side, as appeared upon the opening of her body, which was done by the king's order. This accident had no influence upon the admiral, notwithstanding the flying report, that this princess was poison'd. Nor had it any more effect upon *Henry* prince of *Bearn*, who received the news upon the road, and continued his journey to court. After his mother's death, he took the title of king of *Navarre*, and so I shall call him for the future.

Her death made no alteration also with regard to the marriage of this prince with madam *Margaret*, excepting that, to give the court some time for mourning, it was put off to *August*, on the 10th of which month it was solemnized; but on the *Wednesday* following there happened an affair which made a great noise both at court and in the city.

The admiral returning home about 11 in the morning, and reading a petition that had been presented to him, an harquebuss was fired from a window, one bullet of which took off the second finger of his right hand, and the other wounded him near the elbow on the left arm. Upon this he stood still, and observing from whence the shot came; This, says he, is the fruit

fruit of my reconciliation with the duke of *Guise*. *Maurevel*, who was the assassin, had a horse ready, and fled out at the port *S. Antoine*.

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The news being brought to the king, who was playing at tennis, he fell into a great passion, and swore, That he would punish the author of such a villainous attempt. After dinner, he went to visit the admiral, expressed his concern for what had happened in the strongest terms, and promised him to take such signal vengeance of the guilty, as should satisfy him.

The admiral being persuaded of the king's sincerity, would not remove to the *Fauxbourg S. Germain*, as several of his party advised him, but contented himself with this prince's permission for all the hugonot gentlemen to lodge round his hotel, and with a prohibition of all catholicks to pass that way in the night.

Mathieu l. 6

This confidence of the admiral very much offended his friends and servants, several of whom broke out into vehement threats. *Pardaillon* among the rest, standing by the queen at supper, talk'd very freely, and intimated, that they should not wait till the king himself should punish this treachery.

Memoires de
la Reine
Marguerite.

These transports of the heads of the hugonot party, the publick and private assemblies which they held, and the tumult which this accident caused throughout *Paris*, determined the queen not to continue there. She went to wait upon the king, having sent the count *de Retz* before, who had a great influence over him, and told him, that it was no longer time to deliberate ; that his crown and his life, and the safety of the whole royal family, lay at stake ; that the hugonots were preparing to revenge themselves of the duke of *Guise* ; that *Paris* was going to be made a field of battle ; that there were eight thousand hugonots in the city ; that, being animated by despair, if they should happen to prevail, he himself would become a sacrifice to them, and that it was necessary to prevent them on the night following, being that between the eve and the feast of *S. Bartholomew*.

She so terrified this young prince, that he immediately called an extraordinary council upon the occasion. This council was composed of the calvinists greatest enemies, viz. the duke of *Anjou*, the duke of

A. D. Nevers, M. d'Angouleme, grand prior of France, Tavan-
 1572. *vannes* and Reiz. The resolution was taken to put
 the admiral and the chief of the hugonot party to
 death. Some proposed to involve the king of Navarre
 and the prince of Conde in the massacre; but the duke
 Hist. de Mattheiul. 6. *de Nevers* and *Tavannes* opposing, it was concluded to
 save them.

Memoires de Tavan-
 nes. As they were desirous not to miss their stroke, the
 duke of Guise was intrusted with the management of
 this affair, who was the admiral's mortal enemy, and
 breathed nothing but revenge for the death of the
 duke his father, which he was always persuaded this
 lord was the author of.

D'Avila, l. 5. The duke of Guise never received an order that
 was more agreeable to him. He informed the president
Charron, lord mayor of Paris, of the king's intentions,
 and order'd him to give notice to the captains of the
 wards to raise the citizens; that at the sound of the
 alarm, which would be rung upon the bell of the
 palace-clock, they should every where set lights in
 the windows, that immediately they should break
 open the houses of the hugonots, and put them to the
 sword without quarter; all which was executed with
 such expedition and secrecy, as nothing but the ex-
 treme hatred of the catholick Parisians against the
 hugonots could have forced them to observe.

A little before midnight, the duke of Guise, attended
 with the duke d'Aumale, and the grand prior of France,
 with officers, and three hundred choice soldiers,
 march'd to the admiral's hotel, and broke open the
 gates. *La Besme* a German servant of the duke of
 Guise's, *Achilles Petrucci* of Sienna, and colonel *Sar-*
labous went up stairs to the admiral's apartment. *La*
Besme gave him the first blow, thrusting a broad
 sword into his breast, and he and the rest run him
 through in several places. All that were in the house
 met with the same fate, and the admiral's body was
 thrown out of window. The like executions were per-
 formed in the Louvre, while the citizens and soldiers,
 dispersed throughout the city, did the same in private
 houses.

There were two thousand persons killed that night
 and on S. Bartholomew's day, without reckoning those
 that were destroyed the next day in great numbers.

The

The earl of *Montgomery*, the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, and some others, who had the good fortune to lodge in the suburbs of *S. Germans*, made their escape, and fled into *England*.

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As soon as the fury of this massacre was over, the king sent for the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde* into his closet, and told them in a very angry manner, That he was revenged of his enemies, who under the umbrage of their name and quality, as princes of the blood, had made war upon him, and would have had both his life and crown; that he required them both to return to the religion of their ancestors, and that otherwise it was not in his power to save them from the fury of the people.

The king of *Navarre* answered with submission, That he was always ready to obey him: But the prince of *Conde* replied boldly, That no danger shou'd ever make him betray his conscience. Think of it, return'd the king, for if you don't obey me, you shall not be alive three days hence; and then he ordered him to depart the chamber. However, he followed the example of the king of *Navarre* afterwards.

The *Tuesday* following, the king went to the parliament, where he laid before them the reasons that had forced him to make so bloody an execution; and told them, that he had not done it till he had received information of a fresh conspiracy against all the royal family, and even against the king of *Navarre*; that the design of the conspirators was to set the crown upon the head of the prince of *Conde*, to establish heresy in the kingdom, and extirpate the catholick religion; that notwithstanding these enormous crimes, he had no intention to force any man's conscience, but to cause the edicts of pacification to be observed, excepting what related to the publick profession of calvinism, which he was resolved not to suffer.

After the king had done speaking, *Christopher de Thou*, ^{Thuanus.} first president, made a speech in commendation of the king's prudence in the conduct that he had observed for the good of the state and religion. *Guy de Pibrac*, advocate general, requested that the admiral and his accomplices might be proceeded against in form of law, which was immediately done, and he was hanged in effigie, by a sentence of the parliament, upon the

A. D. 1572. gibbet of *Montfaucon*, to which the populace had some days before fastned his body, and from whence it had been taken away.

Matthieu. l. 6. Historians have disputed much upon the manner in which the king suffered himself to be persuaded to order this bloody massacre. My opinion, which is founded upon good reasons and authority, is, that the sole end, which the king and queen mother proposed to themselves in it, was to get rid of the admiral, and make sure of the two young princes; that the king had no hand in wounding the admiral; and that it was wholly owing to the imprudence and menaces of the hugonots upon that occasion, that this tempest arose.

Paris was not the only theatre of so bloody a tragedy: For at the same time that the massacre began in this capital, messengers were dispatch'd to all parts, with orders to the governors to cause the catholicks to rise up in arms, and fall upon the hugonots. *Meaux, Orleans, Troye, Bourges, Angers, Toulouse, Roan* and *Lyons*, signalized themselves upon this occasion above all the other towns. In several other places the governors, either out of compassion, or policy, or because they thought their strength not sufficient, dispensed with the order.

In fine, several days after, fresh couriers were sent to all the provinces, to put an end to this butchery, which, when they came to think of it in cold blood, was blamed and detested by all the world. It would, perhaps, have been found less fault with, if so violent a remedy had been more effectual than indeed it was; but the hopes which they had conceived of it were frustrated, and in short time after, the state found itself again plunged into the most dreadful calamities.

The conversion of the king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Conde*, was look'd upon as a main point, to deprive the hugonots of all hopes of recovering the furious blow that had, in a manner of itself, demolished them, and all possible application was used to instruct them. The cardinal of *Bourbon* their uncle, imploy'd all his endeavours towards it; and both they and *Francis* of *Bourbon* prince of *Conti*, and *Charles* earl of *Soissons*, the prince of *Conde's* younger brothers,

brothers, made their abjuration, and sent the news of it themselves to pope Gregory XIII.

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The court being resolved to make the best of the consternation of the hugonots, thought, above all things, of retaking the towns that had been granted them as a security. *La Charite* was surprized at the time of the massacre of *Paris*. The viscount *de Joyeuse* and *Strozzi*, who had formed the same design upon *Montauban* and *Rockelle*, succeeded not. This last place gave them more uneasiness than all the rest; because it was so situated, as easily to receive foreign succours by sea. *Biron*, who was sent thither, could make nothing of it; but he received orders to block it up by land, while *Strozzi*, with some privateers, and the baron *de la Garde*, with some gallies under his command, did the same by sea. He invested it in *November*, formed the siege in the following month, and the duke of *Anjou* arrived with a numerous force in *February*.

On the other hand, *la Chatre* governor of *Berry*, besieged *Sancerre*. The marquis *de Villars*, who had been made admiral after the death of *Coligni*, took almost all the towns which the hugonots had in *Guyenne*, and block'd them up in *Montauban*. The mareschal *de Damville* acted more coldly in his government of *Languedoc*, and from that time, his fidelity became suspected. But the court had their views chiefly upon the siege of *Rockelle*, on which the fate of the hugonots depended.

La Noue commanded there. He was well stocked with provision and ammunition, and the place was strong by situation. A great number of hugonot gentlemen had fled thither for sanctuary, the garrison was numerous, and the citizens were so attached to calvinism, that they were as good as so many soldiers. Fifty-five hugonot ministers that had taken sanctuary there, contributed greatly to confirm them in their resolutions, and encourage the revolt.

The duke of *Anjou* being arrived at the camp, found himself at the head of a very numerous army. *Francis* duke of *Alençon* his brother, a prince of a restless disposition, and who was already suspected at court, attended him thither. The king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde*, were obliged also to go to this siege, notwithstanding the reluctance which they had

A. D. had to contribute to the ruin of the only resource of
 1573. a party they always loved. The duke of *Guise* and
 the marquis de *Mayenne* his brother, for a contrary
 reason, never entered upon a campaign with more joy
 than now. The duke of *Montpensier*, and all the best
 officers in *France* were present there.

The siege was begun with more warmth than
 prudence. The duke of *Anjou*, whom they flattered
 at that time with the hopes of the crown of *Poland*,
 vacant by the death of king *Sigismond*, was in haste
 to add the glory of this so famous a conquest, to that
 of his other exploits; but he found by experience,
 that most haste is sometimes the worse speed.

The little precaution they had taken against the
 sallies of the besieged, facilitated their attempts that
 way. They made frequent sallies, commonly with
 success and great loss to the besiegers; and the duke
 d' *Aumale* was killed by a cannon-shot on the third of
March. The business went slowly on; but that
 which gave the inhabitants the most encouragement,
 was the news, which they received on the fourteenth
 of the same month, that the earl of *Montgomery* was
 preparing to come to their assistance with a fleet of
 sixty sail, partly manned for fighting, and partly
 loaden with all sorts of ammunition.

This news, however, produced an effect, that was
 not expected. *La Noue* their commander, was a mor-
 tal enemy to the earl of *Montgomery*. He made no
 question, but the command would be conferred upon
 him, if he came to *Rockelle*, and he was resolved not
 to serve under him. The insolence of the hugonot
 ministers, who would govern absolutely in council,
 was insupportable to him. So he determined to with-
 draw, and having made a sally, and got free of the
 troop, which he commanded, he rode up to the camp
 with all speed, and surrendered himself to the duke of
Anjou, who readily received him as a man whose
 ability had hitherto very much retarded the progress
 of the siege. Some gentlemen followed his example;
 but nothing of all this dismayed the *Rockellers*, nor
 made them more ready to hearken to the proposals
 for accommodation that were offered to them from
 time to time during the siege.

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A great breach having been made on the seventh of *April* in the bulwark of the *Gospel*, they gave the assault. It was defended with much valour, and the besiegers repulsed with great loss. The dukes of *Mayenne* and *Nevers* were wounded. A second and a third assault succeeded no better, and this ill success was chiefly owing to their not destroying a casemate that lay behind the breach of the bulwark. Afterwards they battered this casemate, and the count *du Lude* attack'd it at the head of an intire regiment of infantry; but he was repulsed also. Upon this they blew up the point of the bulwark with a mine: But, though the breach was very large, they cou'd not yet carry it; and after a fresh assault of three hours, the duke of *Anjou* was forced to sound a retreat.

During this obstinate resistance, a bark arrived with the news, that the fleet with succours, commanded by the earl of *Montgomery*, was near at hand. The queen of *England*, notwithstanding the treaties made with *France*, and the negotiations for her marriage with the duke of *Anjou*, had suffered these ships to be fitted out at *Falmouth* and *Plymouth*, excusing herself, by saying, That it was not she, but private persons that fitted them out at their own expence; and if they took them, they might hang them without offending her.

This collusion was almost as bad for *France* as an open rupture; but they were not in a condition to make reprisals. After all, this fleet yielded the *Rockellers* but one single advantage, which was that of supplying them with powder, of which they had great need, and this was brought them by some barks, which entred by the help of the night, the duke of *Anjou* having given such good orders, that the fleet durst not make any other attempt, excepting that just mentioned, nor attack his vessels; which he caused to withdraw under the cannon of the several forts, that he had built upon the shore. *Montgomery* having continued two days off the head of the bay, returned to *Bretagne*, and went to pillage *Belle isle*.

The retreat of the fleet gave room for fresh negotiations; but they always ended as they began: The battery was renewed against the bulwark of the *Gospel*, which they demolished in two places; one of the

A. D. 1573. the mines was discovered, and the miners stifled ; another sprung. The assault followed, and was again vigorously sustained. The count *du Lude* carried the counterescarp of the port *S. Nicholas* : The bulwark of the *Gospel* was attack'd again, and at last carried ; but the besieged retook it, as well as the counterescarp of the port *S. Nicholas*.

The bulwark, after so many attacks, was nothing but a heap of stones, and the fosse was so full of the ruins on that side, that the way was open to enter the city ; so the *Rockellers* gave themselves no more trouble to defend it, nor the besiegers to make themselves a lodgment there ; but during the time that was spent in attacking and defending it, they had so well fortified and flanked the intrenchments behind, that they were stronger than the bulwark itself.

Several other attacks passed, in which the besiegers lost many officers and soldiers, without performing any great feats : In the mean time a piece of news arrived at the camp, which soon passed into the city, and gave hopes of an expedient, by the help of which, the king would be able to free himself from the difficulty of an enterprize, in which he was resolved to receive no affront, and the success of which was rendered very dubious by the obstinacy of the rebels.

This news was the election of the duke of *Anjou* to the throne of *Poland*. It was brought him by a messenger dispatch'd from *John de Moniluc* bishop of *Valence*, who, with his usual conduct in negotiations, had carried it in favour of this prince against very powerful rivals.

This affair obliged the duke of *Anjou* to put an end to the siege of *Rockelle* in any manner whatsoever, and he received express orders for that purpose from the king. Another reason induced him to grant the hugonots the most advantageous conditions possible. The protestant lords of *Poland*, either of their own proper motion, or being solicited by the calvinists of *France*, had required this of the bishop of *Valence*, who had assured them of it by letter, promising to get this article confirmed by the king ; and the regard which this prelate had for the hugonot party, prevailed with him not to make any great opposition to their demand.

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Dans l'Edit
du Mois de
Juillet.

A conference was agreed upon, and on the twenty-fourth of *June*, the articles of capitulation were concluded and sent to the king. The duke of *Anjou* went to the isle of *Oleron*, to wait for the ratification, which the king sent him within a few days.

The most remarkable articles were, That the exercise of the *Romish* religion should be re-established at *Rockelle* as it was in all the kingdom.

That the calvinists of *Montauban* and *Nismes* shou'd be permitted to continue in their religion, and to have the exercise of it in their houses, not in the towns and publick places. Mention is made in this treaty, of the cities of *Nismes* and *Montauban*, baccuse there was a kind of confederacy between them and *Rockelle*, by which they were obliged not to treat separately. *Sancerre* was also one of them ; but the king absolutely refused to suffer that town to be comprehended in the treaty.

That the king should place governors in *Rockelle*, *Nismes* and *Montauban*, but not garrisons, and that these three cities should give the king four of their chief citizens for hostages.

This capitulation served rather to screen the king and the duke of *Anjou's* honour, than truly to subject the *Rockellers*, who remained absolute masters of their city, as they effectually made it appear afterwards. The eagerness of the queen mother to see her son upon the throne of *Poland*, and this young prince's impatience of taking possession of it, much more than the benefit of the state, was the cause of hastning the conclusion of this treaty.

Thus ended this affair, and thus by the precipitancy and particular interest of the duke of *Anjou*, were twenty-four thousand men lost at this siege to no purpose, who perished in nine assaults, and by the diseases which the length of the siege caused in the camp, and the only fruit of which was a patch'd-up peace, which the duke of *Anjou* himself, after his coming to the crown of *France*, had all the reason in the world to repent of.

As soon as the peace was proclaimed, the duke of *Anjou* returned to *Paris*, to wait for the embassadors⁶ from the republick of *Poland* ; and in the mean time, *le Chatre* governor of *Berry*, besieged *Sancerre*. This siege

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siege was sustained with as much and more vigour than that which was laid to this little town some years before. The citizens endured, upon this occasion, the last extremity of famine; and at length finding they were not included in the capitulation of *Rockelle*, they surrendered on the nineteenth of *August* upon tolerable terms, which the *Polish* ambassadors obtained for them. Liberty of conscience was granted them according to the last edict of *July*; but their walls were raised, and they redeemed the pillage of their town by a sum of money. The hugonots began to revolt again in *Languedoc*, *Vivarais*, and *Dauphine*, which was in time, of mischievous consequence. But the court was not enough apprehensive of it.

They were taken up in preparing a reception for the *Polish* ambassadors, which was managed with great ceremony. They saluted the duke of *Anjou* as their king, took an oath of allegiance to him, and he, on the other hand, swore to maintain the privileges of the nation, and all the articles that had been stipulated between the bishop of *Valence* and the republick.

He immediately prepared for his journey to *Poland*, and set forward on the eve of *S. Michal*, attended with the king, the queen mother, the duke of *Aienson*, the king of *Navarre*, and a great number of lords and officers of the court.

The king's design was to go as far as the frontier of *Germany*, through which the king of *Poland* was to pass; but falling ill at *Vitri*, he proceeded no farther. He was seized in such a manner, as made them apprehensive of the consequence of his distemper. However, it was not such as would have induced any one to believe his death so near; upon which account, the king of *Poland* continued his journey after several conferences with the queen mother upon what might happen in this case.

He passed through *Heydelberg*, the capital of the *Palatinate*, where *Frederic III.* count palatin, the great protector of the calvinists, treated him very indecently. He was better received in most of the other states of the several princes of *Germany*. He arrived at *Cracovia*, and was crowned king there on *Shrove-Sunday*.

During

During the king's journey with the king of Poland, the boldness of the hugonots, dispersed as they were, terrified the court, and made them suspect they had some unknown assistance, and invisible heads upon which they depended. Those of *Quercy*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphine*, *Provence*, and *Xaintonge* declared openly against the last edict of pacification, and against the capitulation of *Rockelle*. Their ministers and several lords and gentlemen of their party, had, with great condescension, been permitted to assemble, or their meetings tolerated; and this they had requested under pretence of taking some measures, in order to live in peace with the catholicks in the provinces, where they were intermixed with each other; but their real intention was, to make provision for themselves in case the war should break out again.

They began to establish a sort of a republican plan there, of which *Nismes* and *Montauban* were to be, as it were, the capitals, to which the private councils that were to be established in the other provinces, were to make their report, and give account of their resolutions.

From these two cities were sent two of the most impudent petitions imaginable; in which, besides the publick exercise of their religion, they demanded an infinite number of other things; and particularly, that the protestant princes of *Germany*, the *Swiss*, and the queen of *England*, should be guarantees for the observation of the new edict, which they design'd the king should make by agreeing to their demands.

The petitions were presented to the king at *Villers-Coteretz*. The council was surprized at it. The queen mother being astonish'd, instead of causing the messengers to be arrested, as they deserved, she told them very mildly, That it did not become them, considering what condition they were in, to present such petitions as these; and that the prince of *Conde*, if he was yet living, and had fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse in the field, would not venture to demand the moiety of their proposals.

The king answered with as little courage as the queen mother, which imboldened the hugonots, who perceived they were afraid of them, to go all lengths, and to accomplish, in an assembly which they held at *Milland* in *Rovergue*, their project of a republican state,

A. D. 1573. state, by a confederacy of all the reformed churches in France.

They strengthen'd themselves more and more in *Languedoc, Querci, Rouergue, Vivarais, and Dauphine*, a country full of mountains, and where it was difficult to attack them; and in the provinces, and elsewhere, the two parties were continually a fighting with each other, having no regard to the king's orders. But the source of the mischief was not yet discovered which proceeded as well from the catholicks as the calvinists.

At such a time as this, and in courts so divided, as were that of *Francis II.* and *Charles IX.* one faction was no sooner suppressed and destroyed, than another arose. Had it not been for this, the heresy, notwithstanding all its efforts, must have sunk in time; but its destruction would have too much raised the house of *Lorraine*, and the *Montmorency's* look'd upon too great an elevation of that family, as the fall and entire ruine of their own.

The mareschal *de Montmorency*, the eldest of the four brothers that were yet remaining to support it, was a personal enemy of the cardinal *de Lorraine*, upon account of a great difference that happened between them in the beginning of this reign, occasion'd by the mareschal's hindring the cardinal from entering *Paris* with his attendants armed, which he did under pretence of executing certain orders of the king. The cardinal, and the duke of *Guise*, after the affair of *Bartholomew*, had a greater interest at court than ever, and the queen mother, who had scarce any body but them to depend upon against the hugonots, was closely linked with them. The consequences of this union, the *Montmorency's* had all the reason in the world to be afraid of, which gave them great uneasiness, and put them upon forming a third party, of which the hugonots made a considerable advantage.

This party was called the *Malecontents*, because it was composed of such as pretended to be ill used at court. It was also called the party of *Politicians*, because they did not revolt under the pretence of religion, as the hugonots did, but under that of reforming the state, the corruption of which they greatly aggravated.

This

This party had a leader ready to head them, which was *Francis Duke of Alençon*, the king's brother, a prince of a restless spirit, inclined to the factions, and lowered, by being refused the office of lieutenant general of the kingdom, after the departure of the new king of *Poland*, by the jealousy he had always had of this prince, and the constraints they had till then laid him under. Moreover, of but a moderate capacity, and little conduct, formed rather to serve as an instrument to the passions of another, than to follow his own true interests.

Though the malecontents, or politicians, seemed to form a separate party, and not to enter into the views of that of the hugonots, yet they were under a necessity of acting in concert against the princes of the house of *Guise*, their common enemies, and to support each other. The new revolts of the hugonots were a managed diversion, to divide the attention of the court, and a means which the malecontents made use of to arrive at their end. *La Haye*, lieutenant general of *Poitiers*, one of their emissaries, went to the assembly of *Milland* for this purpose, and was very instant with the *Rockellers* to enter into the confederacy of *Nismes*, and *Montauban*. Several of the inhabitants, being weary of the civil wars, opposed it; but *la Noue* going to *Rockelle* in *January*, under pretence of a communion that was to be administered there, persuaded them to agree to the proposal. They repaired their walls, and replenished their magazines; and *la Noue* was declared commander of the armies there, in *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, and *Angouleme*, by the consent of the hugonot nobility of those provinces.

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All these measures being taken between the hugonots and politicians, the duke of *Alençon* was made acquainted with it; and, in concert with him, it was resolved, That a body of horse should repair on *Shrove-Tuesday*, to the neighbourhood of the place where the court should then be, and carry him off, to place him at the head of the party of the catholick malecontents: but the matter was discovered by the duke of *Alençon* himself, in pursuance of the advice given him by *la Mole*, a gentleman of a *Provence*-family, and the design came to nothing.

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The queen mother, to put a stop to all these conspiracies, being gone to *Vincennes* with the king, and having persuaded the duke of *Alençon* and the king of *Navarre* to come thither, they were no sooner arrived, than she declared to them, That she would not make them prisoners indeed, but they should not be suffered to go out of the castle; and that she had good reasons for what she did. The marshals *de Montmorency* and *Cosse*, *la Mole*, the earl of *Cocconnats*, a gentleman of *Piedmont*, *Grantrye* the king's steward, and some others, were taken up also, upon notice of a fresh plot, to carry off the two princes.

This information was given by a young gentleman, named *Yves de Brinon*, to whom *Grantrye* had communicated it. Those that were taken up were tried. *La Mole* and *Cocconnats* discovered all the secrets of the faction of malecontents, which was going to raise a rebellion in the whole kingdom. They were both condemned to be beheaded; and another named *Tourtai* was hanged, notwithstanding he pretended to be a gentleman. The two princes made a bad defence for themselves; but they did not proceed to any rigours against them at that time: Many lords were impeached by *la Mole* and *Cocconnats*; but they contented themselves with punishing these two confidants of the duke of *Alençon*.

As they were apprehensive that the marshal *Damville*, who had an army in *Languedoc*, would revolt upon account of the imprisonment of his brother the marshal *de Montmorency*, they sent *S. Sulpitius*, the duke of *Alençon's* steward, and *Villeroy*, secretary of state, as it were, to consult with him about pacifying the troubles in *Languedoc*, and to see if they could find out his intentions; but they were greatly surprised at the order which they received, to cause the marshal himself to be seized, which was a point out of their power to bring about, and the marshal being informed of all that passed at court, was very suspicious, and kept himself very much upon his guard.

During all these intrigues, the hugonots being well assured, that they should be back'd by the third party, took up arms again in several places, and seized several

veral towns in *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*. *Colombieres* surprized *S. Lo* in *Lower Normandy*, and *Montgomery* obliged *Carentan* to surrender. As for *Languedoc*, *Vivarais* and the neighbouring provinces, there had been for some months before, an open war there between the catholicks and the hugonots.

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The king, after some useless negotiations, sent the duke *de Montpensier* into *Poitou* and *Xaintonge* against *la Noue*; and prince Dauphin, son of this duke, against *Montbrun* in *Dauphiny*. *James d'Acier* baron of *Crussol*, and afterwards duke of *Uzes*, who had return'd to the catholick party, was appointed to go against the rebels of *Languedoc*, and *M. de Matignon*, lieutenant general of *Normandy*, against the earl of *Montgomery*.

The duke of *Montpensier* took *Talmont*, and was forced to raise the siege of *Fontenay-la-Comte*, after he had given an assault, and returned to court, whither the queen had called him, upon account of the king's illness, which grew every day more dangerous than other.

The hugonots were closely pressed in *Normandy*. *D'Avila*. l. 1. s. *Matignon* shut up the earl of *Montgomery* in *S. Lo*, and laid siege to it. This earl, who had no forage for his cavalry, made a sally on the fifth day, and passed sword in hand cross the enemy's camp, having committed the defence of the place to *Colombieres*, with assurance of succours, as soon as he had assembled the hugonot nobility, who were bringing him some forces from this and the neighbouring provinces. He came to *Domfront*, in order to go from thence to meet some cavalry that was coming to him from *Higher Normandy*; but *Matignon*, who look'd upon it as a matter of the last consequence not to let *Montgomery* escape, who alone by his wisdom and great experience, was able to maintain the war in that country, march'd after him with so much expedition to *Domfront*, that he shut him up, as he had done before at *S. Lo*, and invested the place.

Montgomery had not in all above fourscore and ten harquebusiers, and some gentlemen. However he made several sallies, and sustained an assault of five hours in the castle; but notwithstanding he destroyed a great number of the besiegers, his condition was

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not better'd, by reason of the great loss that he suffered of the bravest persons in his little garrison; and after the assault was over, he had but fifteen or sixteen men left, besides the wounded, that were in a condition to engage. He resolved to dye sword in hand, being thoroughly persuaded, that if he should fall into the hands of the queen mother, she would destroy him, upon account of the death of her husband king *Henry II.* of which he had been the author, though by an accident which it was not in his power to prevent.

But he did not find the few men that were left, in the same resolution, and therefore was forced to capitulate, and surrender himself a prisoner with the promise of his life.

Popeliniere
L. 37.

Matignon, after he had taken *Domfront*, returned to the siege of *S. Lo*, which had been continued, notwithstanding that of *Domfront*. *Colombieres* defended it with extreme valour, sustained and repulsed two assaults, and was shot through the head with an harquebuss at the third. His death gave the assailants the victory; the town was carried, and above four hundred men cut in pieces. *Carentan* did not hold out long after the taking of *S. Lo*; and the catholicks got the better in those parts.

While they were thus engaged in several provinces, the court was strangely alarm'd upon account of the king's sickness, of which he died on the thirtieth of *May*, being *Whitsunday*, at *Vincennes*, in the middle of the fourteenth year of his reign, and when he was just a going into the twenty fourth of his age. It was thought that his lungs were impaired by continually blowing the horn, when he went a hunting, which was very often.

On the morning of the day in which he died, he sent for the chevalier *de Birague*, and the sieur *de Sauve* secretary of state; and in presence of the duke of *Alençon*, the king of *Navarre*, *Charles* cardinal of *Bourbon*, and several lords of the court, he declared his brother *Henry*, king of *Poland*, his successor, agreeably to the laws of the kingdom; and the act

Registre du
Parlement de
cette année.

that he had delivered to him before his departure from *France*, and registred in parliament; ordered that

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that the queen his mother should govern the state, with the character of regent, till this prince's return; obliged all the princes and lords that were present, to swear to bear true faith and allegiance to the king of *Poland*; vehemently exhorted the duke of *Alençon* to keep within the bounds of his duty, and sent a will to the parliament of *Paris*, where it was read and proved a few days after with the ordinary formalities.

He was a prince of good qualities, sense and spirit, liberal, and constant, slept little, and stuck at no fatigue. He was very dextrous at bodily exercises, had an extreme desire to signalize himself in war, and, upon several occasions, gave proof of his courage and intrepidity. He had a taste for learning, esteem'd and encouraged those that cultivated it, and succeeded not ill himself in some little pieces of his own composing, which appeared in the world. He wrote a treatise of hunting, which *Brantôme* gives us a great character of. He was naturally eloquent and judicious, and was admired by the foreign ambassadors for his extempore answers, when he gave them audience.

He was never much inclined to debauch, nor was it any thing but the corruption of the court, the snares that were there laid for him, the vain and criminal honour that all at that time gloried in of having a mistress, rather than his own passion and choice, that led him into some irregular practices. He had religion, which was a rare court-virtue at that time, and a great zeal for the exterminating of heresy out of his kingdom. He loved his subjects, and upon his death-bed expressed his satisfaction at having no children to succeed him, but his brother the king of *Poland*; by reason of the misfortunes, which he knew by experience the state was ordinarily subject to during the minority of princes.

His chief fault was passion, and a kind of fierceness that appeared in his eyes, all yellow with bile, in which there was something savage. He swore by the name of God upon all occasions, having contracted this unworthy habit from a child, by frequently talking with the mareschal *de Retz*, one of his favourites, who was very subject to this vice. He was tall, but a little crooked, and of a pale

A. D. countenance, had a *Roman* nose, his head commonly inclining a little on one side, and a majestick presence.

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He had but one daughter by *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, named *Mary Elizabeth*, who died at the age of five years and a half, and one son by a mistress, named *Mary Touchet*, daughter of a private lieutenant of *Orleans*. This son was *Charles de Valois* earl of *Auvergne* and *Ponthieu*, afterwards duke of *Angoulême*, and colonel general of the light horse.



THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE.

VOL. IV.

HENRY III.

HENRY III. king of *France*, ascended the throne in the twenty-fourth year of his age. It was an unhappy circumstance for him, that he was then at so remote a distance from the kingdom, and that upon two accounts; first, because of the great difficulties he would meet with in leaving *Poland*, and secondly, because he was greatly hated in *France*, not only by the hugonots, who were firmly persuaded, that he had been one of the principal authors of the massacre of *S. Bartholomew*, but also by the numerous faction of the malecontents, who believed him to be intirely governed by the house of *Guise*.

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It appeared, by the instructions for the trial of the sieurs *de la Mole*, and *de Coconnats*, that the design of the faction was to put a stop to his return into *France*, in case of the king's death, and to set the crown upon the head of his brother the duke *d'Alençon*; but, by good fortune, both this prince and the king of *Navarre* were then confined in the castle of

*Memoires de
Sully. T. 2.
c. 6.*

A. D. *Vincennes*, which was an accident of the last importance to the new king.

1574.

Popeliniere
l. 37.

The queen mother, who was sensible how necessary it was for him to return speedily into *France*, dispatch'd away to him, some hours after the king's death, the sieur de *Chemeraut*, and ordered the sieur de *Neuvi* to follow him. The first arrived at *Cracovia* within a few days, and, according to one of the principal articles of his instructions, advised him to send the queen mother, with all speed, his letters patents, to confirm her in the regency.

In the mean time this princess made use of all her wisdom, to prevent, at least, the increase of the troubles which she was apprehensive of, as well from the hugonots, as the faction of malecontents. She quartered the troops in the provinces where she had the greatest need of them, to keep both the one and the other in awe, and raised six thousand *Swiss*, and some *German* horse.

The mareschal de *Damville*, head of the malecontents, and governour of *Languedoc*, was the person, whose conduct gave her the most uneasiness: she was informed, that he treated with the hugonots; that soon after the king's death he made a truce with them, and, by a very criminal attempt, had taken upon him, of his own sole authority, to assemble the states of *Languedoc*. The parliament of *Toulouse* gave a signal proof of their loyalty, by publishing an arret, in which the truce, and calling together the estates, were declared null.

On the other hand, the prince of *Conde* having fled to *Germany*, pressed the protestant princes to obtain succours in favour of the hugonots, and wrote to the assembly, which they held at *Millaud* in *Rovergue*, to assure them, that he was no less zealous for their religion and safety, than the late prince of *Conde* his father. The assembly of *Millaud* received with joy the letters of the mareschal de *Damville*, and the prince of *Conde*, who was upon that occasion declared head of the party.

Articles de
L'Assemblée
de Millaud.

The *Rockellers*, of whom the queen had obtained a truce of two months, by force of money, began their hostilities again, but were very ill handled by the mareschal de *Matignon*. However, the war between the

the hugonots and the catholicks was not very violent, excepting in thote parts. and in *Poitou, Dauphiny,* and *Atvergne.* A. D.
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During these troubles, the queen received the letters patents, in confirmation of the regency, from the king, and a promise, in his name, that he would soon set forward in order to come and take possession of the crown of *France.* But at the same time he acquainted her with the great difficulty he had to make his escape, in order to get himself out of the hands of the *Polanders.*

Indeed it may be said that they kept their eyes upon him, for fear he should escape: and he had need of a profound dissimulation, and of all his cunning, to delude their vigilance. However, he carried his point, and stole away on the eighteenth of *June,* in the night, with all the *French* who were in the secret, some of whom went out of the palace with him, and the rest, by several ways, arrived at the place of rendezvous, which had been agreed upon, at some distance from the town. In this flight he met, as is usual upon these occasions, with several little difficulties, out of which he happily disentangled himself, travelled twenty leagues that night, and reached the emperor's territories the next day.

There he took passes from this prince, who receiv'd him at *Vienna,* in such a manner, as both ought to have been, and was to his satisfaction. From thence he went to *Gratz,* and thence to *Venice,* where the republick omitted no ceremony that was due to a king of *France,* and to a prince who had so great a reputation throughout all *Europe.* He received there the compliments of all the princes of *Italy.* The duke of *Savoy* came in person, and perswaded him to pass through his states, where he made some stay, and the duke spared no charge, nor diversions, nor honours, nor complaisance, to gain his friendship.

But all this was not without design. The duke of *Savoy* intended to persuade the king to restore him *Pignerol, Savillan,* and *Perouse,* which the *French* still kept possession of in his states, and succeeded in his design by the means of *Margaret* of *France* his wife, and the king's aunt, whom this prince greatly loved. Mathieu 1. 7.

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Memoires du
Duc de Ne-
vers, l. 1.

loved. This cession was very much blamed in *France* and *Italy*, for strong reasons of policy, the chief of which were, that the duke of *Savoy* would by this means have an open passage to enter *France*, whenever he should think proper, and hinder the *French* from entering into *Italy*, the princes of which would be obliged to submit to the *Spaniards*; and when the king was returned to *France*, he met with great opposition in council upon this article. Very pressing remonstrances were made to him. The chancellor de *Birague* refused to seal the patents of this restitution: but the king would never go from his word, and order'd the seals to be brought, and the letters to be sealed in his presence.

This conduct tended very much to the disreputation of the king, and to the honour of the duke of *Savoy's* politicks, who after having been so long deprived of his states, was then in compleat possession of them: for the king of *Spain* was obliged to restore him the towns of *Ast* and *Santya*, which he still possessed there, in case the king of *France* should consent to the cession of *Pignerol*, *Savillan*, and *Perouse*. Some years after, the unhappy consequences of this affair shew'd how false a step had been taken.

The king departed from *Turin*, in the end of *August*, with a guard of six thousand foot and one thousand horse, of the duke of *Savoy's* troops, who attended him to *Lyons*. So large a guard was design'd as well for the king's security, as out of ceremony to him, because he was to pass through *Dauphiny*, where the hugonots stopt several posts, and scoured the country under the command of *Montbrun*.

The queen mother, who was already arrived at *Lyons*, with the whole court, went to meet the king as far as the *pont de Beauvoisin*. The first meeting was attended with great marks of tenderness and affection: he being the son she had always most loved, and he could not fail of making a return to her love, for the great obligations she had laid upon him. He assured her, that he should never forget them, and that the royal power, with which he was vested, should diminish nothing of the regard that he had always had for her counsel. This was to touch her in the

the most sensible part, for she was not more eager for any thing than she was for government.

She presented the duke of *Alençon*, and the king of *Navarre* to him, who assured him of their submission and loyalty. He received them courteously, told them that he would restore them their liberty, by discharging their guard; that he desired nothing of them but to love him, and themselves, by being cautious of receiving any ill advice to the prejudice of his service, and consequently to their own certain injury.

The king being at *Lyons*, began to make preparations for the regulating the court and kingdom. He had already been instructed in the situation of affairs by the duke of *Guise*, and messieurs de *Villeroy*, and de *Sauve*, secretaries of state, whom the queen had sent to him to *Turin*: but she gave him a more particular and exact account herself. He made no alteration in the council. That which was called the privy or cabinet council, and had been instituted by the late king, consisted of the queen mother, the chancellor *Rene de Birague*, *Albert de Gondy* earl of *Retz*, *Philip Huraut* earl of *Chiverni*, *Pomponne de Bellievre*, *Sebastian de l'Aubespine* bishop of *Limoges*, *Rene de Villequier*, the sieurs *Pinart* and *Villeroy*, secretaries of state.

The king at that time made *Blaise de Montluc* marshal of *France*, rather as a reward for his great services, than in expectation of any new ones, his great age and wounds having rendered him incapable of bearing the fatigue of any great enterprize. He conferr'd the same honour upon *Roger de S. Larri* lord of *Bellegarde*, and the office of grand master of the wardrobe upon *M. de Souvre*, who had attended him to *Poland*, and was esteemed by him as a person of the greatest honour in his court. If this prince had always bestowed his favours upon such men, his affairs would have succeeded better than they did.

He made some regulations for the duty of his officers, for the days and hours of audience, for the councils and the finances. He at last took the main point into consideration, namely, whether the rebels were to be dealt with mildly, or by force of arms.

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The emperor *Maximilian*, the *Venetians*, and some other princes of *Italy*, whom he had discoursed upon this subject, during his journey, had advised him by all means to begin with pacifying the troubles of his kingdom, whatever it cost him, to the intent to put himself in a condition of regulating the affairs of it at leisure, and without embarasment, and to wait till time should furnish him with means of dispatching the parties by little and little, that he might not be forced to deliver himself up at first to one of the two.

But whether he saw matters too near at hand, and so alter'd his opinion of himself, or whether the queen mother, the cardinal *de Lorraine*, the chancellor *de Birague*, and some others of his council, who were enemies to the calvinist party, and to the mareschal *de Damville*, had brought him over to their sentiments or private views, or whether he had been provoked at the insolence of the hugonots, a troop of whom had taken part of his baggage from him, as he passed through *Dauphiny*, he determined to push matters to the utmost with them, and dismissed the envoy of the elector *Palatine*, who was come to make him an offer of the good offices of this prince, and to perswade him rather to win the minds of the disaffected, by softness and discretion, than to provoke them by a rigorous treatment. He was of opinion, that the rebels would be soon dispersed, if they were briskly attacked on all sides: for this reason, without any farther deliberation, he sent the duke of *Uzes* into *Languedoc*, against the mareschal *de Damville*, and *Bellegarde* into *Dauphiny* against *Montbrun*. The duke of *Montpensier* had orders to proceed to action with his army in *Poitou*, and to press the siege of *Lusignan*, which he had begun. *Montluc* refused the command of the army in *Guyenne*, not finding himself any longer in a condition for action: Nevertheless, as he was returning home, the king recommended this province to him, and he did not fail to serve him there.

The efforts of the hugonots, who seeing themselves upon the point of being crush'd, were grown desperate, and the good orders which their leaders had given in all places, broke the king's measures. Very few attempts

attempts were made against them, and those which were made, were either unsuccessful, or of small importance, excepting that of *Lusignan*, which surrendered to the duke *de Montpensier* after three months siege. He caused the town to be dismantled, and raised the strong tower of *Melusine*, so famous in Romance.

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In the mean time the mareschal *de Damville* intirely pulled off the masque; and having called a meeting at *Montpellier* in November, to which he gave the name of the states of *Languedoc*, he published a manifesto, * in which he declared himself head of an association, for the re-establishing peace and good order in the kingdom, and exhorted all good Frenchmen to join him, in order to obtain a meeting of the estates of the realm.

• Rapporté dans les additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau, T. 2. L. 4.

After this, being strengthened with the king's own troops, which he commanded in *Languedoc*, and which he had gained over to his party, seconded by his brothers *Meru* and *Thore*, by the viscount *de Turenne* his nephew, by several of the nobility that were attach'd to his family, aided under-hand with money by the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy*, he made himself so formidable, that the duke of *Usèz* durst not attack him. He surprized *Aigues-Mortes*, and some other small towns thereabouts. The other confederates also made themselves masters of *Beaucaire*; and the court saw plainly, that at a time when the people were too much accustomed to disobedience, there was as much reason to be afraid of a leader of that character, whose wisdom, valour, and experience, was well known to them, as of a prince of the blood; and that, being joined in a close alliance, as he was, with the hugonot party, he would soon be in a condition to rekindle the flame of civil war more furiously than ever in the kingdom.

Mémoires du Duc de Nevers. T. 1.

The king was intirely disconcerted by the perplexity which this union had given him, and found himself incapacitated for carrying on the project that he had formed, of suppressing, at the same time, the hugonot party, and that of the house of *Guise*. The malecontents, who had joined themselves to the hugonot faction, forced him, against his will, to unite in one common interest with that house, upon which alone

A. D. alone he could hereafter depend. This made him
 1574. look upon the death of the cardinal *de Lorraine*, which
 happened at that time, as a very unfortunate accident ;
 whereas, if matters had taken another turn, he would
 have thought it an advantage, to direct them to the
 mark he aimed at.

This cardinal was by nature a man of great and
 uncommon talents, who being high born, and having
 a great number of brethren, who were all persons of
 merit, maintained himself all his life in great credit.
 It is pretended however, that he was threatened with
 being disgraced, if *Henry II.* had lived ; and that he
 would, in all likelihood, have suffered a diminution
 in his credit, if *Henry III.* at his arrival in *France*,
 had found matters in any other posture. The hugonot
 writers are not to be regarded, who, though they al-
 low the cardinal to have been endowed with rare
 talents, have always thought and spoken very ill of the
 use he made of them. They abused him in all places
 by their calumnies, by continual invectives, and defa-
 matory libels, which they published against him, which
 the fury and passion that appeared in them, were
 sufficient to discredit : On the other hand, to make a
 saint of him, as some catholick authors have done, is
 pushing the matter of his commendation too far. He
 took considerable pains in the business of religion,
 which was obliged to him for several provisions of our
 kings, to preserve it in their dominions : but the pre-
 servation of his own grandeur, and the advantages of
 his house, seemed to have had a great share in stir-
 ring up his zeal ; and, all things considered, ambition
 was the greatest part of it.

Matthieu, l. He died with great marks of piety upon him, and
 7. recommended his two nephews, the dukes of *Guise*
 and *Mayenne*, to the king, who assured him of his
 regard to them, and that he would prefer them ; an
 assurance that had little sincerity in it ; for at the
 bottom he hated the duke of *Guise* : however, his
 outward conduct was, for a long time, agreeable to his
 promise ; because, as affairs then stood, he had need
 of the duke, who, on the other hand, knew well how
 to make use of this favour, forced as it was, but yet
 without depending much upon it.

The king, however, began from that time to observe a conduct, which he judged proper to conceal the designs he had formed for depressing the heads of the different factions: But the success shewed that the most refined politicks are not always the best.

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He was very fond of *Machiavel's* writings, which a gentleman named *du Guat*, who was one of his chief favourites, had recommended to him, and upon which this prince had begun to form a system of politicks, even before he went to take possession of the crown of *Poland*. A constant and profound dissimulation, and the maxims of bringing about his designs by ways the most remote from them in appearance, are the two great principles of *Machiavelism*, which, if contained within certain bounds, might not be criminal; all depends upon the application, and the nature of those means which princes make use of to conceal their designs from their enemies.

Memoires de
la Reine Mar-
guerite. l. 1.

This prince's choice seems very extraordinary in the particular before us. It is pretended, that to deceive and amuse the heads of the parties, he affected to appear careless of the publick, and to employ himself only in devotion and pleasures. It is very difficult to determine whether this was his view, or whether he acted solely upon the inclinations he had to debauch, which he was desirous to cover over with an outward form of piety.

D'Avila l. 6.

He pursued this method, which rendred, and could hardly fail of rendring him contemptible to his court, to his subjects, and to all *Europe*. But it is certain, that as soon as he arrived in *France*, he was observed to mix together in this odd manner the exercises of penitence and debauch, and that he appeared very little solicitous about the governing part.

Matthieu. l. 7.

Being at *Avignon*, he went to the processions of the penitents, cloathed, as they were, in sackcloth. The court lords, that were the greatest libertines, followed his example, and he always after continued these kind of practices.

After dinner he examined very lightly, and dis- patch'd with greater signs of impatience than appli- cation, some affairs, and immediately shut himself up in his closet, not with his counsellors of state, but with some young persons, who ingross'd the whole of his

Thuanus, l. 59.

A. D. his pleasure, whom he continually loaded with new
 1574. favours, and lavish'd both his credit and treasure upon
 them, to the prejudice of those whose services and
 merits had rendred them the most worthy of his con-
 sideration. Their discourse there was upon nothing

La Labeureur
 dans la Con-
 tinuation des
 Memoires de
 Castelnau.

but love-intrigues; and these young debauchees made
 their court to him, by giving him an account of what
 they call'd their good and bad fortune.

The most important secrets for the reputation of
 the ladies, were betrayed there; and from hence pro-
 ceeded the haired, the jealousies, the assassinations
 and outrages of the persons concerned against him;
 but especially of the women, who, in their turn, to be
 revenged of him, revealed the mysteries of his con-
 duct, exaggerated his irregularities, unvail'd his
 hypocrisy, as they called it, and rendred him in-
 finitely odious.

This prince's conduct threw the queen mother into
 an extreme melancholy, who had no more influence
 over him, nor her remonstrances any effect; but the
 storm, which he drew upon himself by such demeanor,
 and was the occasion both of the ruine of the state
 and himself, did not break out till some time after.

Matthieu. l. 7.

In the mean time he married *Louisa de Vaudemont*,
 daughter of the earl of *Vaudemont*, whom he had
 seen in his passage through *Lorraine*, in which mar-
 riage he followed his inclinations rather than his true
 interest. The duke of *Guise* was extremely rejoiced
 at it, because by this marriage he gain'd a support at
 court, and was in hopes that this new alliance of his
 house with the royal family, would, in some measure,
 repair the loss of his uncle the cardinal of *Lorraine*.
 During these transactions, the coronation was solemnized
 at *Rheims*; but a little before, the king being upon
 the road from *Lyons* to this city, received at *Chaumont*,
 the surprizing news of a conspiracy against his life,
 in order to place the duke of *Alençon* upon the throne
 in his stead.

It was discovered by *William de Hautemer*, lord of
Fervaques, whom the conspirators would have drawn
 into the plot; but he would not endure the thoughts
 of it. Among the conspirators were *Beauvais la Nocle*,
Jasn, and *la Vergne Beaujeu*, formerly ensign to the
 admiral *de Coligni*.

The

The greatest difficulty did not lay in preventing the effect of the conspiracy, against which it was easy to make provision after discovery: But that which was most perplexing, was the question, what to do with monsieur the king's brother, it being equally dangerous to punish and pardon such a crime.

At last they resolved upon the merciful side. The king sent for the duke of *Alençon*, and told him, in the queen's presence, with a threatening countenance, That he had conspired against the life of his brother and his king; that there was good proof of it, and that he deserved to die.

This prince being terrified, threw himself at the king's feet, confessed that such an attempt had been proposed to him; but protested that he had never given his consent to it; that he believed those who had spoken to him of it, had no farther thoughts of it; because he had given them no answer upon it. This circumstance was true; and he conjured his majesty to pardon him. The king, after reproaching him with his ill conduct, told him, that he pardon'd him; but that this should be the last time, and ordered him to withdraw. The affair was smothered, without any attempt to pursue the conspirators, part of whom fled into foreign countries.

Soon after, the suspicion of a new conspiracy against the king's life by poison, put him again into a kind of fury against the duke of *Alençon*. It carried him to such a length, that he made a strange proposal to the king of *Navarre*. For having opened his heart to him, upon the regret that he had to leave his crown to such a successor, in case of death; he conjured him to find out some way to rid him speedily of the duke of *Alençon*, and urged the most pressing motives to engage him to it; but the king of *Navarre* declared to him, That he abhorred the thoughts of such a design, and, whatever advantages he expected from the duke's death, by which, in case of the king's dying without issue, he would succeed to the crown of *France*; he protested, that he could not be the author of so detestable a fact. The king being some few days after convinced of the falsity of his suspicion, grew easy: But he had always a lively sense of the

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trouble which the unsuccessfulness of his arms against the rebels gave him.

It was not long before he repented, that he had not followed the advice of the emperor, the *Venetians*, and the wisest part of his council, who had persuaded him to open his reign with an edict of pacification, to cause all parties to lay down their arms. The hugonots and the malecontents had infallibly accepted it, how little favourable soever it had been to them, their affairs being then in a very bad situation.

The king would have taken that method now, but it was too late: Experience had made them sensible of their strength, and the contempt into which the king was fallen, had made him cease to be formidable to them. They were sure of the mareschal *de Damville*, by reason of the steps he had taken, which had render'd him irreconcilable with the court: The number of the malecontents increased daily, the prince of *Conde's* negotiations for the raising of forces in *Germany* began to succeed; so that the advances which the king made towards a peace, served only to render the hugonots more haughty.

Upon his permitting them to present a petition, to lay their grievances before him, they sent their deputies to *Basil*, in the name of the calvinist churches of *France*, and of the mareschal *de Damville*, to confer with the prince of *Conde*, and agree upon what particulars they should demand of the king; and the petition was accordingly drawn up there.

It contained ninety one articles, the design of which was, for the most part, to obtain a full and intire liberty of conscience, the publick exercise of the calvinist religion in all places, at all times, and by all sorts of persons, without any reserve or restrictions. They required churches, towns of security, courts of justice in the parliament, where one half of the judges should be catholicks, and the other half calvinists, that reparation should be made to the memory of those, who had been executed for religion, their estates restored to their heirs; and several other things, which the king could not grant with his own convenience, nor without ruining the catholick religion. *Beauvais-la-Nocle*, one of the accomplices in the last conspiracy, was the person deputed to present it.

The



The reading of this paper provoked the king and the whole council. However it was not thought proper to break off the negotiation; and the rather, because there arrived at that time embassadors, as well from the catholick and protestant *Swiss* cantons, as from the duke of *Savoy*, who offered the mediation of their masters, to whom was joined the *English* embassador, who had received express orders from queen *Elizabeth* upon the same occasion. All together, conjured the king to do nothing rashly, and assured him, they would endeavour to bring about the peace in such a manner as should be agreeable to him. The king suffering himself to be prevailed upon, they began to negotiate.

But, notwithstanding the negotiations, the hostilities continued as brisk as ever. The duke *de Montpensier* ravaged *Xaintonge*. *La Noue*, who commanded in the country about *Rockelle*, took *Benon* and *S. John d'Angle*. *Popeliniere*, another hugonot captain, made himself master of *Tonnay-Boutonne*. The baron *de Langoirant*, of the same party, took *Perigueux*. *Du Touchet*, a calvinist gentleman of *Lower Normandy*, surprized *Mount S. Michael*; but the expedition and resolution of the mareschal *de Matignon*, recovered it again soon after this important conquest.

Landereau, one of the most active captains of the catholick party, seized the isle of *Re*; but *Popeliniere*, who had some vessels ready for the same design, made a descent upon it, retook the isle, and cut *Landereau's* troops in pieces. The like attempts were made on both sides in *Dauphiny*, *Languedoc*, *Guyenne* and *Poitou*.

The most considerable feats were done in *Dauphiny*, *Matthieu* 7: where *de Gordes*, who commanded there for the king, forced *Montbrun* to raise the siege of *Charillon*. But he was revenged of him two days after: For having charged *Gordes*, as he was returning, he defeated his rear, and killed him five or six hundred *Swiss*. Animated by this victory, he attacked him afresh, but was wounded with a pistol-shot, and taken prisoner.

The king was as much rejoiced at the taking of this gentleman, as at the gaining of a battle: For, besides several other reasons of dislike, he had added inso-

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Memoires de
Bramôme.

lence to his revolt. The king having wrote to him to demand some prisoners of him, and speaking in terms of authority, he had the assurance, upon reading the letter, to scoff at it, and to say openly in the presence of several persons, *What! he writes to me like a king, as if I ought to acknowledge him. I would have him know, that this is proper in time of peace; but in war, when we are in arms, and on horseback, all the world are upon a level.* The king being informed of it, fell into a great passion, and swore that *Montbrun* should sooner or later repent it. And accordingly, when the news of his being taken was brought to him, *I was in the right*, replies the king, *in saying that he should repent it. He shall die, and see whether he is upon a level with me.* Immediately he ordered him to be proceeded against in the parliament of *Grenoble*, and he was beheaded. By this accident, *Francis de Bonne* lord of *Lestiguieres*, became head of the hugonot party in *Dauphiny*; which was the beginning of that high fortune to which his own good luck, and his great qualities, afterwards raised him.

Memoires de
Sully. T. 1.
c. 6.Memoires de
la Reine Mar-
guerite. l. 2.Mathieu l. 7.
* Dated Sep-
tember 17,
1557.

The execution of *Montbrun* was a new obstacle to the peace; for the confederates of *Languedec*, being greatly provoked at it, refused to treat with the king's deputies. But the flight of the duke of *Alençon*, who made his escape from court, when it was the least thought of, was a great and fresh cause of concern to the king and queen mother. He went out of the *Louvre* without being perceived, on the fifteenth of *September*, found horses ready at a quarter of a league from port *S. Honore*, and rode full speed for about a league, till he met three hundred troopers, that were come to meet him, and guarded him as far as *Dreux*, a city belonging to his appennage.

From thence he sent a manifesto* to court, and to all parts of *France*, written in the common style of rebels, who never want specious motives to cover over their revolt. A great number of malecontents came immediately to join him, and the seditious, as well hugonots as catholicks, had soon furnished him with a considerable body of troops.

One of the most unhappy effects of this revolt, was, that it determined the *Germans* to come and assist



assist the rebels in *France*. 'Till then the count palatine, and some other princes of *Germany*, had been very irresolute upon this expedition, not thinking the young prince of *Conde's* authority sufficient to conduct it; but as soon as they heard that the duke of *Alençon* had declared himself, they made no more scruples. *M. de Thore*, the mareschal de *Damville's* brother, was detach'd with two thousand Reisters, to march before, and join the duke of *Alençon*.

The king had the misfortune to be in little readiness to resist this unforeseen tempest, for want of money. For this prodigal prince had exhausted his exchequer, by the continual presents he had made his favourites. However, with much difficulty, he raised an army of ten thousand foot, and three thousand horse, of which the duke of *Guise* was made general, having under him *Armand de Biron*, and *Philip Strozzi*, of whose valour and wisdom he was well assured.

Brantôme
dans l'eloge
du mareschal
de Biron.

The queen mother, who looked upon the peace as a thing of absolute necessity, resolved to use her utmost endeavours to get the duke of *Alençon* out of the hands of the rebels. She persuaded the king to discharge the mareschals de *Montmorency*, and de *Cosse*, out of the *Bastile*; and when they were at liberty, she prevailed upon them to make use of the credit they had with that prince, to whom they had been always greatly devoted, to reclaim him to his duty. For this purpose she went in person with them to *Touraine*, where the duke of *Alençon* then was, waiting for the coming up of *Thore*, who was upon the march with the two thousand Reisters above-mention'd, and five hundredarquebusiers of *French* foot: but such a bold enterprize as this was of ill consequence to that lord, who was attack'd and surrounded by the duke of *Guise*, and, after an engagement, in which he had shewed great valour, was obliged to fly: however he had the good fortune to escape, when the body which he commanded, was intirely defeated, and to gain *Touraine*, whither he came to wait upon the duke of *Alençon*.

The duke of *Guise* was wounded in the fight with a pistol-shot in his face. The cut or scar that remained upon him, gained him the surname of *Bala-*

A.D. 1575. *fre*, which he was very well pleased with. This wound, joined to his victory, procured him much honour from the catholicks, who remembered the tumult of *Vassy*, where duke *Francis* his father had also been wounded in the face by the hugonots; so that they said, Martyrdom for the true religion was hereditary to this family. This favourable disposition of the people with regard to the duke of *Guise*, was the cause of many misfortunes, which were not then foreseen; but such as the truce, and afterwards the peace, which the queen mother brought about with the duke of *Alençon*, were the occasion, and, in some measure, the first seeds of.

Traité de
Champigni,
date du 22
Novembre
1575.

A truce of six months was concluded at *Champigni-sur-Vede*, upon the confines of *Poitou* and *Touraine*, upon very hard conditions for the king. The chief were, That he should pay the *Germans*, levied by the prince of *Conde*, one hundred and sixty thousand crowns, provided that prince hindered them from passing the *Rhine*; that the calvinists and malecontents should be allowed six towns of security, which were to be surrendered at the end of the truce, whether peace or war ensued, namely, *Angouleme*, *Niort*, *Saumur*, *Bourges*, *la Charite*, and *Mezieres*; that this last place should be intrusted with the prince of *Conde*; that the king should maintain a garrison of two thousand men there, chosen by the duke of *Alençon*; that he should grant this prince a hundred gentlemen, a company of one hundred gendarmes, fifty *Swiss*, and one hundred harquebusiers for a guard of his person; that the king should dismiss all his troops, excepting the *Swiss* and the *Scots* that belonged to his guard; that the treaties of peace, begun with the *Rockellers* and the other confederates, should be renewed; and that till such time as the peace was concluded, the hugonots should have the free exercise of their religion in the towns in their possession, and in the other places granted by the former edicts of pacification.

Immediately after the publication of the truce, the queen returned to court, in order to bring about the peace, having left the mareschal de *Montmorency*, and the duke of *Montpensier*, with the duke of *Alençon*, to continue him in the good disposition he was in with regard to this affair.

Matters seemed to be in a good way during the month of *January*: but in the beginning of *February* a new incident strangely alarmed the court, because they looked upon it as a very great obstacle to the accommodation they were upon, and suspected that the matter was concerted with the rebels, on purpose to produce a rupture.

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The king of *Navarre*, who, after the duke of *Alençon's* flight, had acted with much circumspection, having proposed a hunting match, and chased the stag in the forest of *Senlis*, went, after the hunting was over, to rest himself at *Chantille*, at the house of *M. de la Trimouille*. The same evening he took the road for *Normandy*, attended with *Fervaques*, *Roque-laure*, *Espéron*, *Frontenac*, and some others, and reached *Saumur*, where, finding himself secure, he declared, that the profession he had made of the Roman religion, after the battle of *S. Bartholomew*, was only an effect of the constraint and violence that were then laid upon him; and that he would return to the religion which he had received from queen *Jane* his mother. From thence he went to *Guyenne*, and as he was governour of that province, several commanders delivered up their fortresses to him under this pretence, before they had received notice from the court, that he had left it without the king's consent.

The malecontents flock'd to him in much greater numbers than they had done even to the duke of *Alençon*, because he was much more esteemed, and more securely to be depended upon than the duke.

The court made as if they were no ways concerned at his escape, and continued the negotiations with so much more eagerness, because the prince of *Conde* would not accept the truce, and because both he and prince *Casimir*, having passed the *Rhine* with their army, were far advanced in *Burgundy*.

They continued their march to the *Bourbonnois*, being constantly watched by the duke of *Mayenne*, who commanded the army in the room of his brother the duke of *Guise*, whose wound was not yet cured. Young as he was, he shewed a great deal of conduct upon this important occasion, obliging the enemy to march always together; hindring them from seizing any

D'Avila. l. 6.

A. D. walled town, and avoiding the combat, which he could
1576. not have accepted without great disadvantage, from
an army that was twice as strong as his own.

The duke of *Alençon* came in the beginning of *March* with his forces, to join the prince of *Conde* and the *Germans* near *Vichi*, where their army amounted to thirty five thousand men. The prince, upon his arrival, deliver'd up the command to him, which was a troublesome circumstance for him, as well upon account of his incapacity, and little experience, as because of the difficulty there was to govern the *Germans*, who were continually demanding money of him, which he was very bare of himself. This embarrass, which could not but increase upon him the farther they went, had the same effect which it had had several times before in the former wars, to make the heads think of a peace. The *Germans*, who came into the kingdom for nothing but pay, were of this opinion, as well as the leaders, being sure that they wou'd at any time build them a bridge of gold, to get them out of *France*. The duke of *Alençon* especially, who, with his title of generalissimo, plainly perceived how little esteem they had for him, was more disposed than ever to an accommodation.

The queen being well informed of this disposition, set the mareschal de *Montmorency* at work, and after several councils had been held upon the occasion, the duke of *Alençon* resolved to send deputies to court, to carry thither both his grievances and demands. The queen mother set out from court with the mareschal de *Montmorency*. The conferences were held at *Sens*, and at length the treaty was signed, containing sixty-three articles, which were related at large in the edict of pacification. * An intire liberty of conscience was granted to the hugonots, with the publick exercise of the pretended reformed religion; for it was this edict that gave that name to calvinism. The publick exercise was without any limitation or restraint, excepting that the hugonots were not permitted to hold their publick meetings any where within two leagues of the court, or of *Paris*. By this edict were instituted the courts of *Justice*, in which there were to be judges of both religions. The attainder of the admiral de *Coligni*,

Donné à
Paris au mois
de May 1576.

igni, and of several others, was taken off, and eight towns of security granted both to the hugonots and those of the faction of malecontents.

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The mareschal *de Damville* had his offices, dignities and governments restored him; the government of *Picardy* was again put into the possession of the prince of *Conde*; the duke of *Alençon's* appennage augmented with the dutchies of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, *Berry* and *Maine*; and from that time he bore the title of duke of *Anjou*. *John Casimir* was promised six hundred thousand crowns within some time, and several other benefits were conferred upon him. The duke of *Anjou* return'd to court in a kind of triumph; and the king, dissembling his resentment and hatred, received him with a thousand caresses.

The publication of the edict of pacification seemed to produce some calm: but these kinds of edicts having been so often violated, either by the hugonots or catholicks, kept them in continual mistrust of each other. That which chiefly raised a suspicion in the hugonots, was the report that went about of a confederacy of the catholicks upon account of that very edict; against which they inveighed publickly every where, and which the authors of this new design represented to the people, as the intire ruin of the old religion in the kingdom.

This confederacy was at that time called, *The holy League*, and afterwards simply, *The League*; the motive to which was indeed holy in the intention of several that were engaged in it, because their view was to prevent the catholick religion from sinking under the efforts of heresy: but, through the ambition and wicked designs of the head leaders in it, it produced fatal consequences, kindled an universal flame throughout the kingdom, and occasioned that execrable attempt by which the king himself perished.

How bitter soever are the reproaches of the writers of the pretended reformed religion upon this confederacy, it is certain, that the hugonots had themselves led the way to it, by several instances of the like kind, especially in the assembly at *Millaut*, and in some others mentioned above; this any one may be easily convinced of, by comparing the forms of association on both sides, as they are related by an hugonot historian *Popeliniere* in

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in the account of those times; so that there can be no doubt but the leagues of the hugonots, which preceded this, served for the model of it. There are several copies of the paper which contained the oath and form of association, which differ from each other.

By the tenor of those in *Popeliniere's* history, and some other historians, it is evident, that the king's authority was not only to be counterbalanced by that of the head of the league, which had yet no particular name; (that which was drawn up at *Peronne* is more moderate and restrain'd; and it appears, that after the states of *Blois*, which were held in the end of fifteen hundred and seventy six, and the beginning of the following year, they kept at first to this form) but afterwards the league observed no measures in this regard, but insolently trampled upon all the rights of royal authority.

James d' Humieres, a great and powerful lord of *Picardy*, declared himself head of the association in that province, for the maintenance of religion there, and the extermination of heresy: but besides his zeal for the true faith, his hatred to the house of *Montmorency*, and other private interests, might have a great share in this project.

Lewis de la Trimouille, duke of *Tbouars*, the most puissant lord of *Poitou*, being exasperated against the hugonots, for the ravages they had committed upon his lands at several different times, formed a like association in this province, upon the model of that in *Picardy*.

Thuanus,
l. 63.

These examples were followed in several other provinces, and chiefly in those where the house of *Guise* had most partisans, and they began to act underhand to the same purpose, in the capital of the kingdom.

The affair having been communicated to so many people, in so many different places, was no longer a secret, and nothing more was wanted to put the catholicks in motion on all sides.

They insulted the hugonots at *Lions*, *Orleans*, *Havre*, and at *Roan*, where the cardinal *de Bourbon*, archbishop of this city, attended with *Claudius de Saintes*, bishop of *Eureux*, and several counsellors in the court

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of parliament, went with proper officers to the meeting, drove the minister out of the pulpit, went up himself, and, mixing menaces with exhortations in his discourse, ordered the assembly to acknowledge him for their only pastor, and then dismissed them.

Such a surprizing attempt as this, made the hugonots believe, that it had not been undertaken by one of the most considerable archbishops of the kingdom, by a cardinal, by a prince of the blood, with any other design, than as an example for the rest of the bishops to act by; and they were persuaded that matters would not have been carried to this height, without the king's consent. They were confirmed in this opinion by the tricks that were put upon those of their religion, who sat upon the bench in the *chambres-mi-parties*; and yet more, by the large garrisons that were placed in the towns of *Normandy*, were the hugonots were in great numbers, as at *Diep*, *Havre*, *Caen*, and several other places. It is past doubt, that the king and queen mother at least shut their eyes at almost every thing that was done against the edict of pacification.

The duke of *Guise* did not appear in all this; but he was privately at the head of all these associations; and, to pursue the example of the calvinists yet more exactly, he at that time enter'd into an alliance with the most powerful foreigners. As none of them were more capable of supporting him than the king of *Spain*, he turned his views chiefly upon the *Spanish* court, and found that prince readily disposed to second him.

There was nothing *Philip II.* had more reason to be afraid of, than the end of the civil wars in *France*, and the observation of the treaty with the hugonots, who by the help of a peace, would not fail to fly immediately to the succour of the *Gueux* of the *Low-Countries*, and of the prince of *Orange*, whose intrigues and success disturbed the court of *Spain* more than ever. For when *John of Austria* arrived in the *Low-Countries*, to take the government of them into his hands, some time after the death of *Don Lewis de Requesens* his predecessor, he scarce found two or three towns that he could call himself master of. *Holland* and *Zeland* were intirely revolted, as well as several towns in the other provinces. Almost all the
rest

A. D. 1576. rest was in the hands of the states of the country, which had assembled, by their own authority, after the death of the governor, and refused to acknowledge *John of Austria*, unless he would send back all the *Spanish* troops, upon which alone he could depend for the support of his government.

To return to the affairs of *France*, they were in the situation above-mentioned, and there was far greater reason to fear a war, than expect a peace, when the time fixed for a meeting of the estates at *Blois* arrived.

This meeting had been eagerly demanded by the calvinists, in the petitions which they presented during the negotiations for a peace. The king had readily granted it, in hopes of getting the edict of pacification qualified, and of regaining the king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Conde*, and the mareschal *de Damville*, by the great offers he made them: but the league of the catholicks, which was formed afterwards to oblige the king to revoke the edict, broke his measures; for whereas he had but one party to satisfy before, he had two to deal with now, whose views and demands were intirely contrary to each other. He was afraid of being left alone between the two factions, and employ'd his whole care in making provision against both the one and the other, seeing that the steps which were taken on both sides, equally tended to destroy the royal authority.

It was now to no purpose to ballance the one by the other, as the queen mother had done for several reasons during the minority of the two preceding kings; for the circumstances were not the same; and an apparant neutrality had exposed the king to both parties. Having therefore well consider'd all things, he resolved to declare in favour of the league.

The chief reason that determined him to this, was, that as he could not, with any safety or convenience, trust himself with the other party, so at the same time he removed all the danger that threatned him from the league: for, by making himself head of the confederacy, he prevented their choosing another, baffled the intrigues of the duke of *Guise*, who, according to the project, was to have headed the league, and would infallibly have succeeded in this essential point, if he had

had afterwards acted with sufficient caution and courage, in order to hinder the duke of *Guise* from effecting that, by remoter methods, which at first he designed to compass on a sudden.

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This resolution being taken, the matter was so managed, that the deputies of the provinces were all, or for the most part, catholicks, and also already engaged in the league: but that it might not be thought that the faction had forced the king to a compliance, he spread abroad a report, as soon as he arrived at *Blois*, That he intended to suffer the publick exercise of no other religion but the catholick for the future in his kingdom; and afterwards, when the estates were fully assembled, he gave the principals of each order to understand, that he wished this might be, in a manner, the main article of the petitions that should be presented to him.

Dans le journal des états de Blois par le Duc de Nevers,

Accordingly this article was taken first into consideration, and upon the twenty-sixth of *December*, it was carried by a plurality of voices, that the king should be addressed to re-unite all his subjects, in the catholick, apostolick, and Roman religion, by the best and most wholesome methods practicable; to ordain, That the exercise of the pretended reformed religion should be prohibited both in publick and private; that the ministers, deacons, and overseers should depart the kingdom within a certain time to be prescribed by his majesty, notwithstanding all the edicts made to the contrary; and to condescend to take all other private persons into his royal protection, 'till such time as they should re-unite themselves to the catholick religion.

In the mean time the deputies *Sangenis* and *Pope-liniere*, the first from the king of *Navarre*, and the other from the prince of *Conde*, being arrived, protested against the assembly, as an unlawful conventicle, which had not been called in due form, and according to the laws of the kingdom.

Their protest was wholly disregarded; but as they were resolved the blame should lie upon the king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Conde*, and the marshal de *Damville*, and that they should be responsible for the war, if they forced the king to it, it was agreed, that the three estates should each of them send their deputies,

A. D. 1576. puties, to invite them to come to the assembly, to consent to the principal article, which prohibited the exercise of any other but the catholick religion, and to exhort the two princes to set their party an example, by returning into the bosom of the church themselves.

The prince of Conde refused to give audience to *Charles d'Allibout*, bishop of *Autun*, to the lord *Montmorin*, and *Peter Rat*, that were sent to him upon this message; for seeing plainly, by the conduct observed in the estates, that they were going to renew the war, he had already renewed his hostilities, and the hugonots had seized *la Charite*, and several other places in *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, some of which *Landerneau*, who was one of the catholick commanders, immediately retook from them.

The king of *Navarre* acted with more moderation: He heard the deputies, and was moved to such a degree, with the discourse of *Peter de Villars*, archbishop of *Vienne*, that the tears fell from his eyes. But he told him, that he could not disengage himself with safety; that no worse step could be taken than to renew the war, which would tend to compleat the ruin of the kingdom; that as to the article of religion, he was by no means obstinate; that he was firmly resolved to adhere to truth, whatever it cost him; but that, at present, he was persuaded the religion in which he had been educated, was the best.

Journal des
estats de Blois
par Jean Bodin.

The mareschal de *Damville*, in like manner, received *Anthony de Senneterre*, bishop of *Puy*, and the sieurs de *Rocheport*, and de *Tholle*, who had been sent to him, with a great deal of courtesy. He thanked the king, and the estates, for the honour they had done him, in sending them to him; but he added, that he could not separate himself from those, who, he knew, were resolved to live in peace by means of his majesty's edicts.

During this fruitless negotiation, in which no body expected any success, the king and queen were ravished to see the duke of *Anjou* declare himself, upon all occasions, against the edict of pacification. He was so eager in this point, that he made a proposal of beginning the war with all speed by the siege of *la Charite*. He was very much applauded for his warmth,



warmth, and nothing that he said in council upon that occasion, was made a secret of. However, the duke *de Nevers*, in his journal, says, That this was all a contrivance to render him irreconcilable with the hugonots; and that the same was one of the principal ends which the assembly of the estates had proposed to themselves. The duke discovered the artifice when it was too late, and was greatly chagrined at it.

After several deliberations, the matter was concluded, agreeably to the former petition of the estates, who had requested, that no other religion, but the catholick, should be suffered in *France*; and the holy league was confirmed, after it had been signed by the king, the duke of *Anjou*, and most of the catholick princes and lords present at the meeting of the estates. They broke up in the end of *March*, without doing any thing else but signing the league; for nothing was resolved upon with regard to the reformation of the state; nor did they furnish the king with any supplies to carry on the war which he was going to undertake. He had recourse to the clergy, who granted him some supplies, and he got money by creating some new dignities, with which he made his preparations.

The duke of *Anjou* begun with the siege of *la Charite*, and took it by composition. *Yssore* in *Auvergne* surrendered also, after sustaining an assault, in which the duke of *Guise* was repulsed. The duke *de Mayenne* forced the prince of *Conde* to break up the siege of *Xaintes*; took *Tonnay-Charente*, *Marans*, and *Brouage*. On the other hand, the king of *Navarre* surprized *la Reole*; and *Concarneau* also in *Lower Bretagne* was surprized by a *Breton*-gentleman of the hugonot party, named *la Vigne*: But it was immediately after retaken by the catholick nobility of the country.

After all, though it was not possible for the king to have declared his resolution to push the hugonots to the utmost, with more warmth than he did in the states, yet it was soon perceived that he began to cool, either for want of money, or for fear of seeing foreigners re-enter the kingdom, by virtue of a league which the hugonots were treating upon with the queen of *England*, the protestant princes of *Germany*, and also with the kings of the *North*. He hearkned to the

A. D. the advice of some of his council, who were against
 1577. the resolution that had been taken in the states, of
 which number was the duke of *Montpensier*.

This duke was continually negotiating with the king of *Navarre*, who was very much disposed to peace; but at the same time, firm and immoveable upon the article of the publick exercise of the protestant religion in the kingdom, though he was not against adding some qualifying clauses to the edict of pacification.

On the other hand, the prince of *Conde*, after the taking of *Brouage* by the duke de *Mayenne*, saw his troops continually disbanding. He was ill satisfied with the *Rockellers*, who did not leave him authority enough in their city and councils. Thus matters were insensibly coming about. A truce was agreed upon in the beginning of *September*, and a peace followed, which the king signed at *Poitiers*, and the king of *Navarre* at *Bergerac*, and then a new edict of pacification, different from the former in no other respect, excepting in that it laid some little restraint upon the publick exercise of calvinism, and made some alteration with regard to the towns of security granted the calvinists by the former edict: For *Montpellier* was allowed them instead of *Beaucaire*, and *Yssoire*, which had been taken, was not restored them. The prince of *Conde* received this news with joy, and immediately caused the peace to be proclaimed. The mareschal de *Damville*, whom the court had begun to reclaim, by the means of his wife, accepted the peace also, and caused it to be accepted in the places under his command.

That which had the greatest influence upon him, with regard to this matter, was the usage he met with from the hugonots, which discovered to him the disposition of the sect, and made him see clearly, that their design was then to form a kind of commonwealth in the *Lower Languedoc*, as they had already done at *Rockelle* and *Montauban*. The hugonots having, from the beginning of this year, suspected that the mareschal was treating with the court, seized *Montpellier* in his absence, and placed *Charillon*, son of the late admiral de *Coligni*, in the government, and committed the most dreadful extravagances, pillaged
 and

and pulled down the churches, maltreated the catholicks; and having given notice of the success of their enterprize to the hugonots of *Aigues-Mortes, Alais, Lunel, Sommieres, Aimargues, and Massillargues*, they exhorted them to do the like. Their advice was followed and executed, and S. Romain was made governor of *Aigues-Mortes*.

A. D.
1577.

Afterwards the hugonots called an assembly at *Lunel*, from whence they sent deputies to the marshal. These deputies, far from excusing what had passed at *Montpellier* and elsewhere, declared to him, That the assembly looked upon it as necessary for the good of the churches; that they did not pretend upon that account, to separate themselves from the confederacy, provided he would exclude all catholicks from his council, and allow of several other conditions, which, as they took from him almost all his authority, rendered him dependant upon the caprice of the colleagues that were to be assign'd him in the government.

Dans les instructions de
Clauſon &
des autres de-
purez, datees
du 27. Fevrier
1577.

The instructions of these deputies were published afterwards by the hugonots themselves; and the marshal writing an answer to them, * shew'd, in like manner, the ingratitude of the hugonots to him, and the great mischief he had done to the catholick religion by his revolt and union with them: For from that time, calvinism spread and rooted itself in such manner in that country, that it was the most corrupt of all the provinces. Thus was the union broken between the hugonots and malecontents.

* Related in
the histoire
du progrès
du calvinisme

The queen mother having a design to establish the peace, made a journey to *Guyenne*, on purpose to confer with the king of *Navarre*, and persuade him to return to court. This last article she could not obtain of him. The conferences were held at *Nerac*, and finished on the last day of *February, anno 1579*. New interpretations were made there of the articles of the last edict of pacification, for the most part in favour of the calvinists, who constantly made their advantage of the eagerness of the court to preserve the peace.

A.D. 1579

The queen went from *Guyenne* to *Dauphiny*, upon occasion of the marshal de *Bellegarde's* revolt, who had got the government of the marquisate of *Saluces*

A. D.
1579.

Guichenon
hist. de la
Maison de
Savoie.

Brantôme
dans l'éloge
du Maréchal
de Bellegarde.

in his hands, having dispossessed the *sieur de Biragne*, by the assistance of M. *Lefdiguières*, who had sent him two thousand foot, three hundred light horse, and as many harquebusiers of horse from *Dauphiny*, where he headed the hugonot party. She had a conference with the marshal at *Montuel* in *Bresse*, within the territories of the duke of *Savoie*, to see if she could not discover, whether he had not entered into an alliance with that duke, and the earl of *Ayamont*, governor of *Milan*, as there was great ground to suspect. All this tended to confirm him in the government, which they could not take from him: But it was not long that he enjoyed it; for within six days after his return from *Saluces*, he died there, some say of the stone, and others of poison. This was a happy turn for the court. The government devolved upon his son, aged about twenty. But under pretence of his youth, they nominated *John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette*, lord of *Caumont*, afterwards duke of *Epernon*, his kinsman, to command in his name, who had also a great share afterwards in the troubles of the kingdom.

The queen after so long an absence, being returned to the king her son, found more alterations in the court of this prince, than in his conduct, by which he continued to render himself more and more contemptible and odious. *Quelus*, *Maugiron* and *S. Meigrin*, three of the principal of those who were called the king's favourites, had lost their lives, the two first in a duel, and the third by an assassination. The grief which the king expressed upon occasion of their death, or the manner in which he did it, was wholly unworthy the royal majesty.

Journal de
Henry III.

But some months after, he acted a part more worthy of himself, and which at the same time was a judicious and solid piece of policy: I mean, the institution of the order of knights of the Holy Ghost, to which he was chiefly induced by two reasons; first, because the royal order of *S. Michael* was extremely debased by the great number of those upon whom it had been undistinguishingly conferred, so that by a kind of proverb, the collar of the order of *S. Michael* was called, *The collar to all animals*; and his

his design was to make that of the Holy Ghost, a mark of the highest distinction.

A. D.

1579.

The second end that he proposed to himself, was to draw off the great lords that were engaged in the calvinist party, by the expectations of this honour, because one of the statutes of the order provided, that no person should enjoy it, that did not profess the catholick, apostolick and *Roman* religion.

It seems also very probable to me, that he had it in his view, to strike at the league by this institution, and the rather, because by another statute, the knight is to vow and swear, *To receive no salary, pension nor office from any other prince whatsoever, nor to engage himself to any other person, be he who he will, without express leave from the king.* For that which mostly threatened the royal authority in the league, consisted in this.

The king did not fill the moiety of an hundred places of the order at the first promotion, to leave several lords in hopes of participating of this honour, and by this bait, as I observed before, to bring over some of the most considerable gentlemen of the hugonot party to the catholick religion, who might assure themselves of being never promoted, while they made profession of the new reform; and the king acted always in the same manner with regard to this article, during his whole reign: For he not only never admitted any of the hugonot lords to his orders; but heresy was also always a reason for exclusion from all offices of the crown, from the mareschal's staff, from the government of the provinces, and from any place in his family.

But the misfortune of this prince was, that they did not at all depend upon him for any thing that he did in favour of religion: And this proceeded partly from the contempt into which he was fallen by his management, with the catholicks, and partly from the secret practices of the leaguers, who poison'd all his designs, and found fault with all the condescensions which he was obliged to make to the hugonots, for fear of startling them too much, and re-kindling the civil war. Thus they talk'd in all places of what had passed at the conferences of *Neras*, where new cities of security had been granted for some months to the

A. D. king of *Navarre* and the calvinists of *Languedoc*, and 1579. inveighed bitterly against the protection which the king at that time gave the city of *Geneva*, upon which the duke of *Savoy* was forming new designs. They exaggerated the indignity of these damnable politicks, as they called them, to support a city which was the bulwark of heresy; and shut their ears against the essential reasons of state, which this prince had for acting in that manner, and against the consideration that was to be had of the *Swiss*, who had exacted it of him.

Dans le Traite
de 1579. au
Recueil de
Leonard. T. 4.

On the other hand, he was the object of the hugonots irreconcilable hatred, upon the account of the massacre of *S. Bartholomew*: Nor was he able to remove their distrust, after the rupture of the treaty that he had made with them before the states of *Blois*. Thus hated by the one, and despised by the other, he found himself in a very odd situation, and was reduced to act a part, and to wait till time and opportunity should furnish him with means to extricate himself out of these difficulties.

With this view he was desirous of continuing the peace as long as possible; but the hugonots could not long contain, and the king of *Navarre*, who, during the conferences of *Nerac*, had discovered all the queen mother's contrivances, took private measures, not only to prevent his being surprized; but also to put himself into a condition to attempt some notable affair, in case of the war's being renewed.

The mareschal de *Damville*, whom I shall hereafter call by the name of *Montmorency*, because he had succeeded to the title and great estate of *Francis* mareschal of *Montmorency* his eldest brother, who died in *May* this year 1579, without leaving any issue behind him, went in *November* to wait upon the king of *Navarre* at *Mazeres*, in the county of *Foix*, in order to demand of him, in the king's name, and as governor of *Languedoc*, the restitution of the towns of security, which by the treaty of *Nerac* had been allowed the hugonots till the month of *October*, and at the same time the restitution of some other places which they had seized after the conferences of *Nerac*.

Hist. du pro-
gres du Cal-
vinisme l. 5.

As the hugonots did not think themselves more secure at that time, than when these towns were delivered up

up to them, they did not judge it adviseable to surrender them, and the king of *Navarre* wanted no pretences to excuse himself from compliance.

A. D.

1578.

One of the chief of these pretences was, that being governor of *Guyenne*, they had left him no authority in this province, but had given the intire power to the lieutenants sent thither by the king. The lieutenant, at that time, was *Armand de Biron*, to whom had been given the mareschal's staff of *France*, vacant by the death of the famous mareschal de *Montluc*. Hel. 4. c. 2

D'Aubign
la Reine
Marguerite
1. 3.

every where quartered catholick troops, even in *Agen* itself, which was the ordinary residence of the king of *Navarre*, who, upon this account, was obliged to go and keep his court at *Leffoure*.

Memoires de
la Reine
Marguerite
1. 3.

Dussat, governor of the *Chateau de la Reole*, which the king of *Navarre* had surprized, deserted this prince upon a love-affair, and had received a royal garrison into it. The mareschal de *Montmorency* had forced *Chatillon* to depart *Beaucaire*. It was for these reasons, that the king of *Navarre*, in concert with the hugonots of *Languedoc*, excused himself from surrendering the towns of security.

During these transactions, the king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Conde*, *Lefdiguieres*, and the other heads of the hugonots, had formed a correspondence in above sixty different places; and they resolved immediately to put their designs in execution; but all these correspondencies were far from succeeding.

The first town that was surprized, was *Fere* in *Picardy*. The prince of *Conde* himself executed this enterprize, in person, on the last day of *November*. He had passed from *Xaintonge* thither in disguise, without being discovered. Assoon as he was master of this place, he went to *Germany*, in order to raise soldiers there, and re-enter *France*, with an army of *Germans*, as he had done once already.

Mande in *Gevaudan* was carried by scalado, on the eve of *Christmas-day*, by captain *Merle*; and about the same time *Montagu* in *Lower Poictou* was surprized by *Pommiers* a *Gascoigne* captain.

Lastly, the king of *Navarre* surprized the city of *Cabors*, by the help of a petard, an instrument newly invented to break open the gates of cities and fortresses, and afterwards employed in several other mi-

A. D. 1579. literary uses. This was one of the boldest and most vigorous attacks that ever was heard of.

The king of *Navarre*, having forced open the gate of the city, found himself stopt by the governor, named *Verins*, at the head of his garrison, and the citizens, who made a regular defence for five hours together, by means of barricadoes, which they raised with wonderful expedition.

It may be said, that the taking of this city was not the greatest advantage the king of *Navarre* reaped from the expedition. The idea, which upon that occasion, all his party conceived of his person, was of more important consequence to him. They admired his intrepidity, his activity, his presence of mind, to have his eye upon all quarters, to rally his men, to hinder the soldiers from disbanding, in order to fall upon the plunder, to prevent a thousand accidents during so long an attack; to remedy an infinite number of unforeseen inconveniencies, which might have wrested the victory out of his hands, and caused his ruin. He was always in the midst of the fire, and exposed to the greatest dangers. It was he, that at the head of his guards, without any defensive arms, carried the last and strongest barricade; and the taking of which put an end to the defence of the besieged.

After this glorious action, the king of *Navarre* marched to *Guyenne*, where the marshal *de Biron*, having a superior force, prevented him from making any progress.

The king relying upon the marshals *Montmorency* and *de Biron*, for the preservation of *Languedoc*, and *Guyenne*, resolved upon an attempt to retake *Fere*, and drive the hugonots from a post of this importance, from whence they carried their ravage up to the very gates of *Paris*.

This enterprize was committed to the care of the marshal *de Matignon*. Both the besiegers and the besieged shew'd much valour upon the occasion, but the weakness of the garrison obliged *la Peronne*, who commanded there, to capitulate, after a bastion had been carried by assault. The siege lasted from the twentieth of *June* to the last day of *August*. Thirty gentlemen, and eight hundred common soldiers, were killed upon the spot. The besiegers lost two thousand

land men in the attacks and sallies, and as many were carried off by diseases. *Philbert* earl of *Gramont*, and *Francis de Mailli*, lord of *Haucourt*, were killed there. A. D. 1579.

The taking and re-taking of *Fere*, and the surprize of *Cabors*, were the most memorable expeditions of this campaign. The war ended the same year, by the mediation of the duke of *Anjou*, with much less difficulty than the court expected, because the hugo- A. D. 1580 nots, a great number of which, and especially those of *Rockelle*, by the advice of the lord *de la Noue*, had disapproved of the king of *Navarre's* revolt, were very much disposed to it; and because the duke of *Anjou* was particularly interested in the re-establishment of peace in the kingdom, for reasons to be mentioned hereafter.

Notwithstanding this peace, there were always some persons disposed to trouble the state, especially in the hugonot party: besides that they paid no great regard to their heads, some flattered themselves, that in case they succeeded in their attempts, they should not be disowned, especially by the prince of *Conde*, who had always been against the last treaty.

Some hugonots of *Auvergne*, *Rouergue*, and the *Cevennes*, undertook to surprize *Aurillac*. They storm'd it, and six-score were already mounted upon the walls, when the sieur *de Veyre*, first consul, came at the head of some companies of the citizens to fall upon them, and pursued his design with so much vigour and resolution, that most of them were killed, the rest tumbled into the fosse, and so the enterprize miscarried. The king, as a reward for the valour and prudence of this magistrate, who was dangerously wounded upon the occasion, ennobled him, and all his posterity, together with the off-spring of his brothers, three of whom had been killed in the service, and one of them in this very fight.

This infraction of the treaty, on the part of the hugonots, did not break the peace; the reasons upon which it had been at first made, still subsisted, and these which follow, are the motives which prevailed upon the duke of *Anjou* in particular, to maintain it as his own work by all possible means.

Extrait des
Registres de
la Maison de
Ville d'Au-
rillac.

Extrait des
Registres du
Conseil d'Etat
du mois de
Janvier de
l'an 1582.

A. D.
1580.



The king, who, in other respects, thought it necessary for the good of the state, had promised him in case of his succeeding in it, to second him in two great designs he had then in hand: the one was his marriage with the queen of *England*, which was already far advanced, at least in the opinion of those who formed their sentiments upon appearances, rather than the character of that princess; the other was his establishment in the *Low Countries*, which were at that time in great confusion, and had, for the most part, revolted from the king of *Spain*. The king had given him his word, not to countenance him openly, for fear of drawing the *Spaniards* upon his back, but secretly, and by suffering him to carry with him such troops as were willing to follow him in that expedition.

Queen *Margaret*, his sister, was the person that had managed this affair with some lords of the country, in a journey that she made to the *Spaw*, under pretence of ill health. Several incidents, that fell out, had like to have caused the project to miscarry: The duke of *Anjou* however had troops in some towns of the country. The estates had already given him the title of their protector, and had assured him, that if they should change their master, they would choose none but him.

The attempt to throw off the yoke of the king of *Spain* openly, and to declare him to have forfeited his right to the *Low-Countries*, was at last put in execution, by the intrigues, and authority of *William* prince of *Orange*, who himself, upon this occasion, persuaded the estates to perform the promise they had made the duke of *Anjou*, and to acknowledge him for their lord.

The publication of the act by which the king of *Spain* was deposed from the seignory of the *Low-Countries*, having been made on the twenty-seventh of *July*, Anno 1581. the prince of *Orange* sent *Philip Marnix*, lord of *St. Aldegonde*, attended with several gentlemen, to the duke of *Anjou*, who was then at *Plessis* near *Tours*, to offer him the principality of the *Low-Countries*. The offer was accepted, and a treaty sign'd between the duke and the estates. Several lords, and particularly the prince d' *Epinoy*, go-
vernor

governor of *Tournay*, had declared for this prince ; but the duke of *Parma* had re-taken some towns in *Hainault*, which had embraced the same interest, and laid close siege to *Cambray*, which he had some time since caused to be block'd up by the marquis de *Roubais*.

This place was of great importance to both parties, not only upon account of its strength, but also, because it was the door of communication between the frontiers of *France*, and the provinces of the *Low-Countries*. The baron d' *Insy*, governor of the citadel, who was the first person that queen *Margaret* gained over to the duke of *Anjou* her brother, finding himself hard pressed, sent messengers, one after another, to that prince to demand succours, expecting to be severely handled by the *Spaniards*, if he fell into their hands. He had all the motives of honour and interest in his behalf, and accordingly the first thing the duke of *Anjou* did, was to endeavour his deliverance.

He sent *Fervaques* before him with four thousand men, of which one thousand under the command of *John de Baligni* base son of *John de Montluc*, formerly bishop of *Valence*, enter'd the town.

The duke of *Anjou* arrived some time after, and incamped under the *Castelet*. His army, in which were several *French* lords, either catholicks or hugonots, consisted of twelve thousand infantry, and four thousand horse. The duke of *Parma*, who was at *Valenciennes*, marched out as if he had been going to engage, but not having an equal force, his sole design was to join the troops of the blockade, which he effected, and removed from *Cambray*.

The duke of *Anjou*, having no obstacle remaining, entered the city, where he was received with great joy and respect by the baron of *Insy*. Two days after, he took an oath to maintain the privileges of the city, and thereby began to take possession of the government of the *Low-Countries*. The prince looking upon this place as the key of the country, made sure of it ; he withdrew the *Walloon* garrison, and placed a *French* garrison in their room ; and persuaded the baron d' *Insy* to deliver up the government of it to *Baligni*. It was not without some difficulty that he submitted to it ; but this gentleman had no time for resentment, or to wait for

A. D. 1581. for a recompence, being killed some days after in a rencounter by a party of *Spaniards*. The duke of *Anjou* afterwards seized *Arleux*, the fort of *Lecluse*, *Chateau-Cambresis*, and all the other posts thereabouts, so that the *Spaniards* were obliged to abandon this whole canton.

Camden
P. 3. Hist.
d'Elizabeth.

The prince made no question but this success, and the great party he had to depend upon in the *Low-Countries*, would further his marriage with the queen of *England*: But he was amazed, when he heard that this princess made that very thing a motive to delay the conclusion of it, because, at that conjuncture, she could not marry him without drawing a war upon herself from *Spain*, in which, as she had declared to the duke of *Anjou*, she was resolved not to engage. This was one of those pretences, which she had always at hand, upon occasion, to prevent coming to any conclusion. But to keep the court of *France* always in expectation, she proposed a league with the king against *Spain*, the power of which had been of late considerably augmented, by the conquest of *Portugal*, which the duke of *Alva* had just seized in the name of the king of *Spain*. There were many pretenders to this crown after the death of the royal cardinal, who had succeeded king *Sebastian*, that perished in a battle against the *Saracens* of *Africa*. *Catherine de Medicis*, queen-mother of *France*, was one of the number; but her pretensions being not so well founded, as most of the rest, she contented her self with supporting *Don Antonio*, bastard of *Portugal*, commonly called the prior of *Prato*. The queen of *England* also was well disposed to support the interest of this lord, who having been defeated by the duke of *Alva*, had taken sanctuary in *England*. It was upon this occasion that queen *Elizabeth* proposed a league with *France*. The king was by no means averse to the design, but he had a mind to see the duke of *Anjou's* marriage with this princess concluded before the league, and she demanded the contrary.

Upon this a negotiation was enter'd upon, which lasted during the months of *August* and *September*, *Anno 1581*. It appears, by *Walsingham's* letters, who was at that time ambassador extraordinary from *England* to the court of *France*, that the queen of *England*

England made use of the same methods that she had formerly done, when a marriage was treating upon between her and king *Henry III.* then duke of *Anjou*, and caused the same perplexity in her own ministers, upon whom she herself imposed, in such manner that they could not discover whether she had any real design of marrying or not. At length the ambassador had his audience of leave, without having concluded any thing, and went to the *Low-Countries*, where he saw the duke of *Anjou*, for whom the queen of *England* not only expressed an inclination, but a passion also. The greatest advantage which the duke at that time gain'd by it, was the sum of 100,000 crowns, which she sent him privately.

In the mean time, the progress of this prince's affairs in the *Low-Countries* did not answer their beginning. His troops, after the taking of *Cambray*, disbanded for the most part for want of pay, and the *French* nobility that had attended him in the expedition, thinking it sufficient that they had served him so well, retired almost to a man, to their estates and to court. The marquis d'*Elbeuf*, set the example, by taking leave of the duke with four hundred troopers : The interest of his family, and the engagements they had made with the *Spaniards*, would not permit him to contribute over-much to their ruin in the *Low-Countries*. The duke of *Anjou* withdrew under the *Chatelet* with five thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse ; and to avoid the chagrin of seeing the prince of *Parma*, who rallied his army, carry on his conquests before his face, without being able to hinder him, he passed into *England*, under pretence that his presence was necessary there for the conclusion of his marriage with the queen.

He was received by this princess with all the marks of a most sensible affection ; and the matter proceeded so far, that on the twenty-second of *November*, in the presence of M. de *Castelnau Mauvisiere*, ambassador of *France*, and several *English* lords, she put a ring upon the duke of *Anjou's* finger, telling him, That she betroth'd him from that moment with that ring. Nay, she went farther, and ordered an act to be drawn up in *Latin*, containing the form of celebrating the marriage, which was to be observed in the

Memoires du
Duc de Ne-
vers.

A. D. the church wherein they should be married, the terms the duke of *Anjou* was to make use of in espousing the queen, and those which were to be pronounced by the queen, in accepting the duke of *Anjou* for a husband. This act was signed by the bishop of *Lincoln*, and several *English* lords. *Castelnau* gave immediate advice of it to the king, by an express, and it was thought, both in *France* and *England*, that the affair was accomplished.

This act is in parchment in the library of Mr. Foucault counsellor of state, and upon it are to be seen the hands of the bishop and lords.

But the duke of *Anjou's* joy was not long-lived. Going the next day to see the queen, she told him, That she had passed the night in extream uneasiness and frights, and that three such nights would be sufficient to bring her to the grave. She urged a great many reasons for scruple, and *Hatton*, a privy-counsellor, added many others to them. Some *English* protestant ministers inveighed publickly against the marriage, in all likelihood, by a private order from the queen: but what was very remarkable in this affair, was, that the news of the conclusion of the marriage being spread about *Paris*, the catholick preachers, at the solicitation of the leaguers, made at the same time a thousand invectives upon the occasion, and declared in the assemblies, That this alliance of a prince of *France*, with an heretical queen, was a most certain fore-runner of the overthrow both of religion and the kingdom.

The duke of *Anjou* having no farther hopes, was going to take leave of the queen of *England*, in order to return to the *Low Countries*, where *Alexander* of *Parma* had just taken *Tournay* and *S. Guislain*: but she retained him by new promises, threatening him, if he did go, to direct her inclinations another way. Thus she amused him for three months, at the end of which, she suffered him to depart, upon condition of returning within a month, assuring him, that she would constantly persevere in the resolution of marrying him. He embarked on the first of *February*, and arrived at *Flessingue*, being attended by the prince of *Orange*, the prince of *Epinoy*, and a great number of lords of the states, who went to meet him, with four men of war, to convoy him in his passage.

This prince departed from *Flessingue* for *Antwerp*, where they had prepared a magnificent reception for him; and on the nineteenth of *February* having ascended



ascended a stage richly adorned without the city, opposite to the gate of the citadel, and having taken the usual oaths, he was publickly and authentically saluted duke of *Brabant*, by the deputies of the provinces, who swore fidelity to him.

The rejoycings lasted near a month, and ended with those that were made for the birth-day of the new duke of *Brabant* on the eighteenth of *March*; but they were interrupted by a fatal accident which had like to have been the cause of the duke's own ruin.

The king of *Spain*, after the prince of *Orange's* outrage, in declaring, That he had forfeited his sovereignty over the *Low-Countries*, kept no more measures with him; but set a price upon his head, and promised twenty-five thousand crowns to the person, or the heirs of the person, that should destroy him. A *Biscain*, named *Joannael Jauregui* charged himself with the assassination, obtain'd leave to speak with him, and having presented him a paper by way of petition, while the prince was reading it, he fired, close upon him, a pocket-pistol charged with two balls, which went through his two cheeks, and the assassin was immediately dispatch'd. The wound was not mortal, and the prince of *Orange* recovered in a short time.

The report went among the populace, that the duke of *Anjou* had been the author of this attempt, to rid himself of a man who had too much authority among the *Flemmings*, and to reign with more power. All the *French* were seized and disarmed, and the abbey of *St. Michael*, where the duke of *Anjou* resided, was invested by a seditious troop, who were already preparing to set fire to it, when the sieur de *St. Aldegonde* arrived with a letter under the prince of *Orange's* own hand, which he read to the people, declaring, That neither the duke, nor any *Frenchman* had any hand in the assassination; but that the authors of it were discovered by the papers that were found upon the criminal. This calm'd the populace, who immediately dispersed.

These violent methods served only to exasperate the people more and more against the king of *Spain*, and to render him still more odious; and the states being assured of fresh succours preparing for them in *France*, drew together their forces, surprized *Bergue-Saint-Vinoc*, and gain'd

A. D.
1582.

gain'd some advantages in the field, over the prince of *Parma*. The army that was getting ready in *France*, for the assistance of the states, gave this prince a great deal of uneasiness; but being as good a politician as he was a great foldier, he made this very conjuncture turn to his advantage, and compassed an affair which was of the last consequence to him.

The *Walloon* provinces, that is to say, *Artois*, the earldom of *Flanders* and *Haynault* had, for the most part, reunited themselves to him, seeing the progress that the hereticks made, and the violences they exercised against the catholicks, by the authority of the prince of *Orange*: but one of the conditions, which the lords of the provinces had exacted of *Alexander de Parma* for their re-union with him, was, that he should not recall the *Spanish* and *Italian* troops which had been sent out of the *Low-Countries*. He represented to them, in so pressing a manner, that it would be impossible for him to stand his ground against the states, and oppose the *French* army, without the reinforcement of these troops, and that *Artois* and the other frontier provinces of the kingdom of *France*, were ravaged by the *French*, that he persuaded them to consent at last, that the *Spanish* and *Italian* troops should be recalled.

As soon as he had obtained their consent, he dispatched couriers to *Italy* and *Franche Comte* to hasten the return of the troops; and, in the mean time, he went to lay siege to *Oudenard*, which, at that time, passed for one of the strongest towns in the country, and which had been fortified on purpose by the *sieur de la Noue*. The duke of *Anjou* being willing to save this place, one while made a diversion in presenting himself before several towns as if he was going to lay siege to them, another while he approached the camp of *Alexander de Parma*, as if he had a design to attack it; but he did not venture to make any attempt, and the place was taken after an assault, in which the besiegers made a lodgment upon the breach.

In the mean time, the supply from *France* arrived, mostly by sea, in the ports of which the states were masters. The queen of *England* sent them troops also, and at that time the duke of *Anjou* was saluted earl
of

of Flanders at Gant, as he had been duke of Brabant at Antwerp.

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There being scarce any province, in which the two parties had not some towns and troops, the war became more brisk than ever, and they fought every where with different success, 'till the end of the year 1582, when there happened an affair of great consequence, which extremely perplexed the states and the duke of Anjou.

This prince seeing himself join'd by the French recruits, had thoughts of shaking off the prince of Orange's yoke, who, at the bottom, governed all, and left him no authority to support the fine titles of duke of Brabant and earl of Flanders. He resolved, in a private council, which he held with several French officers, to make himself master of several towns, to drive out the troops of the states, and to deprive the citizens of the custody of them.

He sent an order to the French commanders who were at Dunkirk, Bruges, Denremonde, Vilvorde, and some other places, with some regiments of the nation, to raise a tumult under-hand, and, upon pretence of suppressing it, to draw up their soldiers, and seize the gates and other posts of the city, at which the soldiers kept guard. The duke of Anjou reserved to himself the attempt upon Antwerp; and the affair was to have been executed every where, upon the same day, viz. the sixteenth of January. The method he pitched upon to make himself master of Antwerp, was as follows. He had caused his army to come to Bourgerhout, a borough in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, and went out of his Hotel, attended with his domesticks, and French and Swiss soldiers, which were in Antwerp, to the number only of four hundred. He marched to Kiddorp-gate, with a design, as he said, to go and take a review of his troops. Three hundred troopers of the army were posted upon the bridge, and along the fosses of Antwerp, to receive him and serve him for a kind of guard to the camp. As soon as he was without the gate, he turned to his men, and pointing to the city, *Courage my companions, says he, the city of Antwerp is your own.*

Upon

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Upon this signal his domesticks put the guard to the sword, re-entred the city, seized upon the passage and the neighbouring wall; three hundred troopers ranged themselves in the street, and the duke of *Anjou* rode with all speed to the camp, to hasten the march of the troops that were coming forward. Three hundred other troopers march'd up with full speed, three thousand foot commanded by *Ferraques* followed them, and made themselves masters of the *Porte de Cbeiser*, the *Porte Rouge*, and part of the ramparts. They turned the cannon against the city, and the soldiers being posted in several quarters, cryed out every where, *God preserve the duke and the mass.*

The citizens being greatly surprized, and hearing these repeated shouts, took it, at first, for an insurrection, upon occasion of some quarrels between the *Hugonots* and *Catholicks*, as it had several times happened already; but seeing them seize the *Hotel des Marchands*, called the *Exchange*, and perceiving the soldiers beginning to plunder, they made no question but the *French* had designs upon their liberties and properties.

The prince of *Orange*, upon the noise of the tumult, came out of his palace, caused as many gentlemen as he could get together, and the soldiers that he had with him, to take up arms, encouraged the citizens by his presence, and excited them to defend themselves. They run to arms from all parts of the city, chain'd the streets, flocked together, and ranged themselves in bodies. The rest, both men and women pelted all the *French* that appeared in the streets, from the windows, and knock'd them down with stones.

The citizens defended themselves in all parts of the city with so much resolution and order, notwithstanding the surprize, that the *French* every where found themselves borne down and over-burthened with the number, *Ferraques* himself was taken. The *French*, having no one left to head them, were disconcerted, and ran, for the most part, to *Kiddorp-gate* to make their escape; but were pursued with the sword in their backs, being exposed to a continual shower of stones from the windows. And, to add to the misfortune, a body of *Swiss*, which the duke of *Anjou* had sent, in order to seize the *Porte de Cronembourg*, having found

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found it shut, turn'd back to *Kiddorp-gate*, where meeting a multitude of people, that were running out; they took them for citizens, and presented their pikes to stop them, which increased the crowd, and the passage was soon entirely stopp'd up by a heap of dead bodies, partly killed by the inhabitants, and partly smothered in the press.

The succours having not been able to enter, the citizens finished the destruction of the rest of the *French*; and the duke of *Anjou*, who was for a long time doubtful of the success of his enterprize, because he had received no news of his men, was satisfied it had miscarried, when he heard that the cannon of the ramparts was fired upon the troops that he had sent one after another: so he recalled them, and withdrew to the other side of the river *Dille*.

Upon this occasion he lost two hundred and fifty gentlemen, and above nine hundred common soldiers, and including those that were drowned in passing the *Dille*, then very much overflowed by the rains, the number amounted to near two thousand men. There were but one hundred citizens killed, besides those which were wounded, of whom there were a great number on both sides, and several dyed of their wounds.

The matter was as ill managed, or at least with as little success, at *Ostend*, *Bruges* and *Nieuport*, where the inhabitants defended themselves against the garrisons, and expelled them: but the *French* made themselves masters of *Denremonde*, *Dixmude*, and *Dunkirk*.

This ill success of the duke of *Anjou*, was as much to the prince of *Parma's* benefit, as a great victory; who, with pleasure, saw his enemies, that might have crushed him, if they had acted in concert, fall out among themselves, and destroy each other. He resolved to make all the advantage he could of this division. He dealt under hand, and by his emissaries, with some lords of the revolted provinces, to persuade them to a treaty of peace with the *Walloons*, and the loyal provinces, by representing to them how little the *French* succours were to be depended upon, who, under pretence of protecting them, design'd to usurp the country, and make themselves absolute masters of it.

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On the other hand, he knew that the duke of *Anjou*, being greatly perplexed in a country, from whence he could not make his escape, if the states on one hand, and the *Spaniards* on the other, should undertake to block up all the passages, would not be averse to an accommodation upon any terms whatsoever. Upon this he sounded him, and the matter was upon the point of being concluded between them, upon condition that the duke should surrender *Vilvorde* and *Denremonde* to the *Spaniards*; and that the prince of *Parma* should furnish him with a sum of money to pay the *French* garrisons: But the prince of *Orange*, who had notice of this negotiation from the duke of *Anjou* himself, and was sensible of the importance of it, put a stop to the design.

In an assembly of the principal heads of the states held at *Antwerp*, he convinced them, that in the present situation of affairs they were not to be influenced by resentment, but by a prudential regard to the publick good; that the best way was to regain this prince, of whom they stood in need, and not to force him, by too much rigour, to treat with the *Spaniards*. During these transactions, the sieur de *Bellevre* arrived at *Antwerp*, being sent on purpose from the court of *France*, to procure a reconciliation between the states and the duke. The prince of *Orange*, a man fruitful in contrivance, if ever any man was so, spread abroad a report, that the duke of *Anjou* not only treated about an accommodation with the prince of *Parma*, but also upon a marriage with a daughter of the king of *Spain*.

There was not one person in the states, that was not especially solicitous about the consequences of the marriage, or did not perceive, that the principal condition wou'd be the union of the *French* forces with those of *Spain*, in order to crush the confederate provinces.

Upon this, a negotiation was begun with the duke, who consented to restore *Vilvorde* to the states, upon condition of their furnishing him with provisions, of which he had great need; releasing the prisoners that were taken in the fight at *Antwerp*, and leaving him a free passage to carry his troops to *Dunkirk*. This treaty was speedily and faithfully executed on both sides.

The prince of *Parma*, whom the duke of *Anjou* had all this while amused, despairing of any success in negotiating

negotiating either with the duke or the rebellious lords, whom the lords of *Roubaix* and *Montigny* had in vain endeavoured to move, took the field to make his advantage of the enemy's confusion, before a good understanding was entirely settled between them again.

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He ordered *la Motte*, governor of *Graveling*, *Montigny*, and *Mondragon*, to block up *Dunkirk*, and marched into *Brabant* with his army, where he seized some small towns; and being informed that the mareschal *de Biron* was raising a force at *Steenberg*, a very strong town on the other side of *Bergopsom*, he turn'd his arms thither. Upon this a very bloody fight ensued, the advantage of which each side ascribed to themselves; but soon after, the mareschal *de Biron* embarked with his troops in some vessels that he had sent for to *Steenberg*, and returned to *France*.

After this retreat, the prince of *Parma* marched his troops to *Dunkirk*, from whence the duke of *Anjou* was departed, and had withdrawn to *France*, to wait the success of the sieur *de Mirebeau's* negotiation, who, after *Bellievre's* return, had been sent by the king to the states, to offer them his mediation between them and the duke. The sieur *Chamois* had been left at *Dunkirk* with a garrison of 500 men; but seeing himself besieged both by sea and land, and wanting a sufficient number of men to contain the citizens, he made little resistance, and surrender'd by composition.

It was a question, whether the duke of *Anjou* was gone to *France*, with a design to return to the *Low Countries*, in case *Mirebeau's* negotiation succeeded; or whether, being discouraged by so much ill success, he was resolved wholly to give over his enterprize; but the disease with which he was soon after seized, and of which he died at *Chateau-Thierry* on the 10th of *June* the year following, was an incident that delivered the prince of *Parma* from all sollicitude upon that account.

Dans le Testament du Duc d'Anjou, date du 8 de Juin, 1584.

After having languished some time, he died of a vomiting of blood. The report, as usual, was that he had been poisoned; but in all likelihood the poison that killed him, was no other than the chagrin and excess of debauch, to which he had always eagerly abandon'd himself. Notwithstanding the great character which his sister queen *Margaret* gives us of him in her memoirs, he had scarce any other good qualities

A. D. 1583. than those of valour, affability, and attachment to the catholick religion, always influenced by men of restless dispositions, to whose persuasions he was a slave, and blindly following the guidance of his ambition, which carry'd him to the most hardy, and sometimes to the most unjust enterprizes, without either cunning, or prudence, or constancy to support them: but that which in some measure seem'd to excuse his conduct, was his being concern'd with a court and prince, who were the occasion of most of the mistakes he committ'd thro' the ill treatment he received there.

Matthieu. l. 7. At his death he express'd a great regret for the enterprize of *Antwerp*, and for having so often provoked the king his brother. He made over to him his right in *Cambray*, where he had a *French* garrison. *France* concern'd itself but little afterwards with the affairs of the *Low-Countries*; and the offer which the states made some months after to the king, of submitting themselves to him, without any other condition than that of liberty of conscience, was not accepted, by reason of the difficulties he was then under.

At the same time that *France* supported the *Low-Country* rebels against the king of *Spain*, she assisted don *Antonio*, bastard of *Portugal*, against the same prince. *Catherine of Medicis*, the queen mother, had such authority in council, that she caus'd a fleet to be fitted out for the *Azores*, where *Tercera*, which was the chief of those isles, held out for him. No expedition cou'd have been attended with worse success than that was: the *French* fleet was beat by the marquis *de S. Croix*, who commanded that of *Spain*. Colonel *Strozzi*, general of the *French* army, perish'd upon that occasion with 2000 men. Don *Antonio* being driven from *Tercera* by the marquis *de S. Croix*, fled to *France*, and continued there to the time of his death, which happen'd in 1595. By his retreat *Philip II.* possess'd all the kingdoms of *Spain* in peace, which had never till then been united under one monarch, from the time that this country was wrested out of the hands of the *Romans*; the possessions also of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies* underwent, in like manner, the yoke of *Spain*.

The death of the duke of *Anjou* wou'd have been looked upon with more indifference at court and in the kingdom, notwithstanding his being presumptive heir of



of the crown, if it had not raised such a prince to that rank, as he who was to succeed in case of his dying without issue. This was *Henry* king of *Navarre*, who was unhappily engaged in the Calvinistical religion. This conjuncture gave the league an opportunity, and a plausible pretence for breaking out; and supplied the heads, who till then had fomented it only in private, with means to procure an open execution of it, and to begin to enjoy the fruit of their intrigues, to the ruin of the whole kingdom.

The enterprize of the league may be looked upon as one of those extraordinary strokes of providence, who knows how to draw the greatest good out of the greatest evil, and to make even a crime serviceable to promote the ends he proposes.

According to the natural course of affairs, there was no doubt, but if the king of *Navarre* succeeded without opposition to the crown of *France*, heresy would have become the established religion; and in time the catholick religion would have been insensibly abolish'd. A multitude of extraordinary incidents brought about matters in a quite different manner from what human prudence could have foreseen. The heretical prince conquered his enemies, and truth triumphed over him. The victory declared for his rights, and the justice of his cause: heresy and injustice, which were the different badges of the different parties, both yielded, and *France*, by crowning her lawful king, preserved the true religion.

The same motive, and the same pretence, that had served to form the league in 1576, put it in motion in 1584. And this motive and pretence were, the preservation of the catholick religion in the kingdom, against the efforts of heresy, which threatned it with impending ruin. A. D. 1584

During the duke of *Anjou's* illness, the principal persons concerned in the league held two private assemblies, the one near *Nancy*, and the other at *Joinville*. The duke of *Guise* at the first meeting, exaggerated the disorders of the government, the inapplication of the prince, wrapp'd up in his favourites, the companions of his debauches, and the misery of the people loaded with taxes, which turned to the advantage of some private persons, and were of no service to the state;

Mathieu. l. 9.
Journal de
Bassompierre

A. D. and, in a word, the danger to which religion was exposed, if the king died without issue, and without any other heir than the king of *Navarre*.
 1584.

At the other meeting, the *sieur de Tassis* assisted in the name of the king of *Spain*; and it was resolved, among other things, that in case of the king's death, (for they gave the duke of *Anjou* over) the cardinal *de Bourbon* shou'd be acknowledged king of *France*; that in the mean time all those that had signed the league in all parts of the kingdom, shou'd be ready to take up arms; and that those who by their condition were prohibited from serving religion this way, as the ecclesiasticks were, should prepare to contribute to it by such services as were agreeable to their station. Thus far they had gone, when the news arrived of the duke of *Anjou's* death. The alarm was every where given to the catholicks, touching the danger they were in of seeing an heretical prince upon the throne of *France*; and this danger, exaggerated by the emissaries which the heads of the league kept in all the provinces, immediately stirred up the minds of the people.

In all the assemblies, they reasoned with extreme licence upon the present and future government. The preachers in the chairs, the curates in their discourses, and the professors in their schools, broke out in invectives against the court: The more moderate of them alarmed the people upon the danger to which religion wou'd be exposed, if, after the death of the king, the law of the kingdom shou'd take place, with regard to the king of *Navarre's* succession to the crown; and they pressed their hearers the more vehemently upon this point, because the misfortunes, with which *France* and religion were threatned in this case, seemed really unavoidable.

Journal de
Henry III.

These preludes of revolt began to shew themselves even in the very capital. The weak attempts which the king made to suppress them, served only to render him more and more contemptible, and to let the seditious see they were feared: But the heads of the leaguers perceiving that these popular clamours would be to no great purpose, unless they were supported from elsewhere, made application, not only to the king of *Spain*, of whom they were already well assured, but also to *Rome* and pope *Gregory* the XIIIth, whose authority would

would be of great moment, in case he declared for the league. *A. D.*

1585.

The cardinal *de Pelleve*, entirely devoted to the house of *Lorraine*, to which he owed his greatness, and which was always the most resolute of the leaguers, was their principal agent at *Rome*; and was seconded by some others of the faction, who had repaired to that court, and spared nothing to gain the interest of the cardinals.

Lettre du P.
Matthieu au
Duc de Ne-
vers du 11
Fevrier, 1585

The pope was at that time altogether disposed to declare the king of *Navarre*, and all the other princes of the blood, that professed heresy, incapable of succeeding to the crown, by a bull; but he was prevented by some cardinals, who advised him to do nothing rashly. At length he declared by word of mouth, but without giving any answer in writing, that the catholick princes might take up arms for the defence of the catholick religion in *France*; that the war against the hugonots was just and lawful; and that it was not only allowable to wage war with them, but also with all those that favoured or assisted them, even tho' they bore *the royal character*. He granted a jubilee also for all the leaguers; but this, in like manner, by word of mouth only.

Lettre du
Sieur de la
Rue au Duc de
Nevers du
30 de Mar.
1585.

The duke of *Guise* seeing himself so well supported at *Rome*, and being secure of the *Spaniards*, whom he found but too eager and forward to encourage him in the revolt, began to declare himself openly in *March*, and to draw his troops together: But before he made any attempt, the cardinal *de Bourbon* published a declaration, containing the motives that induced the princes and lords of the league to take up arms.

This cardinal, brother of the late *Anthony de Bourbon*, and of the late *Lewis* prince of *Conde*, was a very good prince, exceeding zealous for religion, and always a great enemy to the hugonots, whom he had never spared, either in the king's council, or in his archbishoprick of *Roan*; easily governed by those who had got the ascendant over his mind; and upon these accounts very fit to second the duke of *Guise's* ambition.

This duke had besides laid a bait for him, by telling him, that his nephew the king of *Navarre* being excluded from the crown upon the account of his heresy, the throne devolved upon him; and also, that being

Lettres du
Duc de Ne-
vers au Car-
dinal de Bour-
bon sans date

A. D. one degree nearer to the king, than the king of *Navarre*,
 1585. though of a younger branch, this title was a sufficient
 ballance to the right of that prince.

The declaration that was published by the cardinal *de Bourbon*, was dated from *Peronne*, March 1, 1585. He was the person that spoke in it, intituled himself first prince of the blood, tho' that quality belonged to the king of *Navarre*; and insinuated, that the succession to the crown devolved upon him. He gave the dukes of *Lorraine* and *Guise* the titles of lieutenants-general of the league, and named among the associates, not only the princes of the house of *Lorraine*, but also the cardinal *de Vendome*, and the dukes of *Nemours* and *Nevers*: And, what was more amazing, but at the same time shews how far the leaguers had propagated their intrigues, and extended their design, when they appeared to be asleep; at the head of the declaration, when it was dispersed about the kingdom, was placed a list of those that had entred into the association; in which list, besides those above-mentioned, were the pope, the emperor, the princes of the house of *Austria* in *Germany*, the king of *Spain*, the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Mayence*, the dukes of *Savoy*, *Ferrara*, *Cleves* and *Parma*, the grand master of *Malta*, the seignory of *Venice*, the republicks of *Genoa* and *Lucca*, the duke of *Florence*, and the prince of *Scotland*, whose embassador at the court of *France* lent his cyphers to the leaguers, for the correspondences which they had at *Rome*.

This list was enough to impose upon the people, and terrify the king: For it was not probable, that the league wou'd have dared to make use of so many and so great names, if all those powers with which they strengthened their authority, had not consented to it. The first and principal motive expressed in the declaration, was, That the king having no children, they were in danger of having an heretical and apostate prince for king of *France*, notwithstanding the oath of our kings at their coronation obliges them, above all things, to maintain the catholick, apostolick and *Roman* religion in the kingdom: To this they added every thing that might contribute to render the king odious, and to make him suspected upon the article of catholicism.

" For these weighty reasons, continues the cardinal, *A. D.*
 " we *Charles of Bourbon*, first prince of the blood, *1585.*
 " assisted by the princes, cardinals, peers, prelates,
 " officers of the crown, governors of the provinces,
 " lords, gentlemen, captains, cities, and others, con-
 " sisting of the soundest and best part of the kingdom,
 " declare, that we have sworn to keep up a
 " standing aid and army, till such time as the church
 " shall be restored to its dignity, in the profession of
 " the true and only catholick religion, the nobility en-
 " joy their honours and privileges, the people be relieved,
 " the new taxes, introduced since the reign of *Charles*
 " IX. be taken off, the parliaments maintained in
 " their prerogatives, and the estates, whenever they
 " shall be assembled, in their authority, &c."

Such a declaration, with circumstances so extraordinary as these, being every where dispersed, made a strange impression upon the minds of most of the catholicks of all conditions; and among others, several lords and gentlemen quitted the court, to repair to the heads of the league.

While this tempest was gathering, the king of *Navarre*, who saw plainly that it would not be long before it fell upon his head, was contriving to allay the storm; but greatly perplexed what way to take. He was not for beginning a civil war, foreseeing, that if he took up arms, he would lay the king under a necessity of making use of the forces of the league to pursue him as a rebel. The king was no less embarrassed himself, seeing his authority trampled under foot without any regard or consideration: For, some months before the cardinal's paper appeared, he had himself published a declaration, in which he prohibited all manner of associations in his kingdom upon pain of high treason; which it was impossible to infringe more openly and audaciously, than the leaguers did in the instance before us.

He solicited the king of *Navarre* to come to him, and comply with his desire, *viz.* to change his religion, telling him, that there was no other way to cause the ill designs of the league to miscarry, and to ruin their common enemies; but this prince excused himself from coming to court, not thinking his person safe there; and declared, that he was by no means obstinate in re-
 gard

A. D.
1585.

gard to religion ; that as soon as ever his own should be proved false, he would leave it ; but that till then, he preferred his conscience above every thing. However, tho' he was resolved not to begin the war, he took all the precautions that prudence suggested to him, and sent to *Denmark*, to the protestant princes of *Germany*, and to the queen of *England*, to implore their protection and assistance against the attempts of the leaguers, who were not long before they entered upon action.

Besides the principal towns, in the governments of the heads of the league, of which they were secure, the duke of *Guise* surprized *Verdun* even upon *Easter-Day*. He made himself master also of *Mezieres* ; and the sieur de *Mandelot*, governor of *Lyons*, caused that city to declare for the league, and seized the citadel by stratagem. The leaguers miss'd of *Arles* and *Marseilles* : *Bourdeaux* had been saved a little before by the resolution and prudence of the mareschal de *Matignon*, who caused *Vaillac*, governor of *Chateau Trompette*, who would have introduced the forces of the league by this castle into the city, to be seized,

It is agreed on all hands, that the king never shewed more weakness than at the present conjuncture : For it is certain, that the duke of *Guise* had but four thousand foot, and one thousand horse, when he began the hostilities ; that the king, with a little expedition and resolution, would easily have crush'd him at that time ; and so true is this, that *Beauvais-Nangis*, finding the duke of *Guise* at *Chalons* with so small a force, and asking him what he designed to do, if the king should come to attack him ? I design, says he, to retire with all speed into *Germany*, and there wait for a more favourable opportunity.

Instead of acting with that vigour that was required, the king amused himself with publishing a new declaration ; in which, not daring to name those that had given occasion for it, he made a weak apology for his conduct, like a man under fearful apprehensions, and promised his favour to those that should renounce all leagues and associations.

Besides his own indolence, and the soft life to which he had abandoned himself, the queen mother and some others of his council, either fearful in their
natures,

natures, or secret partisans of the league, inspired him with this conduct.

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The queen mother represented the league to him in such a manner, as terrified him: She talked so vehemently upon the matter, and painted the war that was breaking out, in such dreadful colours, that he himself conjured her to make use of all her prudence to prevent so many misfortunes; and left the whole management of the affair to her.

As soon as she saw herself mistress of it, she wrote to the duke of *Guise* to propose an interview; at which he was surprized, and resolved to make an advantage of the terror into which he had thrown the court.

Accordingly, after several conferences, in which the duke made the most amazing proposals, and such as were the most capable of discouraging her, she demanded only the liberty of deliberating upon it with the king; which having been granted her, they were almost all of them agreed to, and the treaty of peace was concluded on the 7th of *July* at *Nemours*.

Lettre du Duc de Guise au Duc de Nevers, du 29 d'Avril.

Lettre du Cardinal de Bourbon à Madame de Nevers du 2. de May 1585.

It was agreed, that there should hereafter be but one only religion in *France*; that the hugonot ministers should depart the kingdom within a month, and all others that would not return to the catholick religion, within six months; that all hereticks, for no other reason but because they were hereticks, should be incapable of any place, dignity, or benefice; that the *Chambres my-partes*, called the chambers of the edict, should be suppressed; that the king should establish this treaty by an irrevocable edict; and that himself, his council, and all the bodies of the kingdom, should confirm it with their oaths; that it should be registred in parliament, and executed without delay; that the hugonots should be deprived of the cities that had been yielded up to them; that the cardinal of *Bourbon* should have *Soissons* for a city of security; the duke of *Mercœur*, *Dinan*, and *le Conquet* in *Bretagne*; the duke of *Guise*, *Verdun*, *Toul*, *S. Disier* and *Chalons*; the duke of *Mayenne* the castle of *Dijon*, and the city and castle of *Beaune*; the duke of *Aumale*, *S. Esprit de Rur* in *Picardy*; that the government of the *Bourbonnois*, vacant by the death of the sieur de *Ruffec*, should be conferred upon the duke of *Elbœuf*; that the cardinal of *Bourbon* should have seventy guard of horse,

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Mathieu I. s. To this it was added, that the citadel of *Lyons* ſhould be razed; that the king ſhould furniſh the league with the ſum of two hundred thouſand and ſix crowns, two thirds of which ſhould be employed in paying the foreign troops that they had raiſed; and that he ſhould give another hundred thouſand crowns to build a citadel at *Verdun*, beſides the maintenance of the guards which he granted the princes of the league.

Such was the famous edict of *Nemours*, which we may call the triumph of the rebels, and the ruin of the royal authority. But while the heads of the league ſucceeded univerſally in *France*, they had the miſfortune to hear, that the face of their affairs was entirely changed at *Rome*, and that they were in danger of loſing the aſſiſtance of that court, which was of ſo great importance to them.

Sixtus V. had juſt ſucceeded *Gregory XIII.* who is repreſented in hiſtory as a man of the greateſt abilities that had been raiſed to *S. Peter's* chair; and of a character that would not ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon by appearances.

Lettre du
marquis Pi-
ſani du 4 d'
Août. 1585.
Lettre du Duc
de Nevers au
Cardinal de
Bourbon du
15 d' Août
1585, &c.

Accordingly, as ſoon as he was elected pope, he made no ſcruple to declare his opinion of the league; ſpoke of it as a dangerous conſpiracy; and being informed that ſome monks had diſcourſed injuriouſly of the king upon this occaſion, he ſent them to the galleys. This conduct of the pope intirely changed the language at *Rome* upon this article: The league was no longer called the holy league there; but an unjuſt faction, and a party of rebels. The marquis *de Piſani*, embaffador from the king to this court, got the better of the cardinal *de Pelleve*, and of the other agents of the league; and in a few days ruined the cabals which had coſt them much time to form.

But

But the pope did not explain himself more openly upon this article to any person than to the duke of *Nevers*; who, notwithstanding the opposition of the other heads of the league, undertook a journey to *Rome*, to consult the pope in person, and quiet his conscience. The pope, with an amazing length of penetration, laid before him the designs and consequences of this faction, even to religion itself; and convinced him so thoroughly of it, that, upon his return, he came and threw himself at the king's feet, and asked his pardon, for having suffered himself to be seduced by the rebels. The king, who was acquainted with his wisdom, abilities, and experience in war, received him with all the goodness imaginable, and gave him the government of *Picardy*.

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But the pope, in disapproving the league, did not design to restrain himself from taking all the measures which he judged proper to prevent the establishment of heresy in *France*; and especially to provide against its becoming the regnant religion, by the elevation of an heretical prince to the throne: Upon this account, he soon after published a bull * against the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde*, signed by twenty-five cardinals; by which he excommunicated these two princes, deprived both them and their heirs of all their estates, and particularly of the right of succession to the crown of *France*; and absolved all their vassals and subjects from their oath of allegiance.

*Datee du roi
de Septembre
1585.

This bull comforted the agents for the league at *Rome*, after the disagreeable reception they had met with from the pope, who always spoke contemptibly, and with indignation of the league; but at the bottom he performed but too great a service for them by this sentence, which he pronounced against the king of *Navarre*: For the exclusion of this prince from the crown of *France*, was one of the principal ends they proposed to themselves; and the catholick people were thereby impowered to join them.

The king of *Navarre* being so closely attacked by so many writings, and threatened shortly with the arms of his enemies, answered the former, and made preparations against the latter. He replied by manifestoes to the declaration of the cardinal *de Bourbon* above-mentioned, and to some other libels of the league. He defended

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defended himself in particular, from the character they had given him of an obstinate and relapsed heretick ; protesting, that he was always ready to submit to a free council ; and that he was by no means a relapse, having never changed his religion, but only yielded to the force that had been put upon him after the massacre of *S. Bartholomew*, when he was threatned with death, if he did not abjure the reformed religion.

Cayet, Chro-
nolog. nove-
naire,

As for the papal bull, he wrote four letters in answer to it from *Montauban*, one addressed to the clergy of *France*, another to the nobility, a third to the third estate, and the fourth to the *Parisians*. He exposed the nullity of the bull ; how much it struck at the sovereign authority, and the artifices of those that had solicited for it : But looking upon the pope in this respect as his personal enemy, he revenged himself of him by another paper, which he found means to get fixed upon the very gates of the Vatican itself ; in which, as from the error of this bull, he appealed to the parliament and to a general council ; and implored the assistance of all sovereign princes, as obliged to interest themselves in his cause. It is said that *Sixtus V.* though he had no reason to put up with this insult, did not blame him ; and that he told the marquis *de Pisani* upon this occasion, That it was to be wished the king his master had as much resolution against his enemies, as the king of *Navarre* shewed against those that abhorred his heresy ; which is perfectly agreeable to the account we meet with in the life of this pope, viz. That of all the christian princes, he esteemed scarce any but this prince, and *Elizabeth* queen of *England*, and that for the steadiness of their conduct ; a quality which he gloried much in himself.

The bull of *Sixtus V.* was dispersed throughout all *France* : But this only under-hand : For the parliament, though many leaguers were in it, did not care to authorize it. The most zealous distributors of it were the emissaries of the league of sixteen, which afterwards caused so many troubles, and which for this reason I shall speak of here, before I enter upon the description of the war, which the duke of *Guise* forced the king to make, against his will, upon the king of *Navarre*.

A journey, which the duke of *Espernon* made by the king's order, after the death of the duke of *Anjou*,

to

to confer with the king of *Navarre*, and exhort him to change his religion, having given the leaguers an opportunity to publish several calumnies against the king, and in particular to assert, that he was resolved to unite with the hugonots against the catholicks; the minds of the people were in such a ferment upon the article of religion, that every private man seemed to think himself bound and commission'd to prevent the ruin of it.

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Coyet T. 31.
Dialogue du
Manant & du
Malheureux.

A citizen of *Paris*, named *la Roche-bland*, a good and perfectly well-disposed man, was of this opinion, that every thing was lawful in so good a cause. He discovered his mind to several curates, doctors, and preachers of *Paris*; and having discoursed for a considerable time together, they agreed to form a private league, in order to fix *Paris* intirely in the interests of that, which was spread throughout the kingdom. They resolved to associate some other persons, whom they could depend upon for secrecy, and whose wisdom, credit among the people, and courage, might be serviceable to them in the execution of their design. Those of the associates, who had the greatest share in the enterprizes of the new league, and whom for that reason I shall mention here, were *Compan* the tradesman, *Crüce* the attorney, *Bussy-le-Clerc*, *la Chapelle*, and *Emonet*, attorneys also, and the commissary *Louchard*. They formed a council of ten persons, which commonly met at the *Sorbonne*, in the chamber of doctor *Boucher*, parson of *S. Benedikt*, and afterwards at the college of *Fortet*, where he went to lodge; for which reason that college was afterwards called the cradle of the league of sixteen. Six of their number were chosen for the sixteen quarters of the city to gain over friends, to propagate such reports as were serviceable to the faction, and to carry the orders of their council to their respective districts. Their names were, *Roche-bland*, *Compan*, *Cruce*, *Louchard*, *la Chapelle*, and *Bussy-le-Clerc*: It was from the number of the wards of *Paris*, and not from that of the persons, that this association was afterwards called the league of sixteen.

This league in a short time made a surprizing progress; and though it went under the specious pretence of religion, as that did which began at *Peronne*, yet there was something very criminal in the oath which they took upon their entrance into it: For whereas that

of

A. D. 1585. of *Peronne* promised all obedience to the king; in this they declared against heresy, hypocrisy, and tyranny; that is, as they understood it, against the king himself, whom they accused of those three crimes.

This faction was formed without the knowledge of the duke of *Guise*: But as soon as the heads of it saw themselves well settled, and their numbers considerably enlarged, they gave him and the cardinal *de Bourbon* notice of it, who were ravished to have the capital of the kingdom so forward in their interests; and by the measures which they afterwards took in concert with this league, they rendered it vastly more pernicious and formidable to the royal party, than it would otherwise have been.

It was by their authority, and with their consent, that it held a correspondence with the general league, and sent agents into all the provinces; and that the leaguers of the provinces did the same to *Paris*. The secret was so well kept, that though the king and his ministers were sensible that something was a brewing, yet they could never get any distinct account of it; and at last discovered the faction only by the effects it produced.

The duke of *Guise*, being secure of this new support, resolved to force the king to make war upon the king of *Navarre*, in virtue of the treaty of *Nemours*, by which the calvinists were with all speed to be obliged to surrender the cities of security which had been granted them.

The king delay'd the matter as long as he could, by starting several difficulties; the principal of which was, to find money to defray the expences of the war. This method would have succeeded, if it had not been for the extreme hatred which the *Parisians* bore to the calvinists; for neither the parliament, nor the lord mayor, nor the clergy, were willing to hearken to the proposal of taxing themselves to fit out an army: But the *Parisians* were so zealous, that a great number of private persons assessed themselves of their own accord, and furnished out one hundred thousand crowns, upon condition of entring upon the war with all speed.

The king could not excuse himself after this: The duke *de Mercœur*, governor of *Bretagne*, was the first of the heads of the league that began to act in an
hostile

hostile manner, having marched into *Poitou* to attack *Fontenay*, but he met with ill success. The prince of *Conde*, who had undertaken the defence of this province, forced him to abandon his enterprize, and as he retreated, took from him his baggage, and a great number of soldiers.

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D' Aubigne
sous l'an
1585.

This irruption of the duke *de Mercœur* into *Poitou*, having drawn a great number of gentlemen, and soldiers, to the prince of *Conde*, he found himself in a condition to besiege *Brouage*, and would certainly have made himself master of it, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of *S. Luc* the governor, if he had not committed a very unseasonable mistake.

At the same time that he was carrying on the siege with great vigour, he received the news, that *Roche-morte*, a calvinist gentleman, had surprized the castle of *Angers*; and having but a very few soldiers, was in danger of being forced by the citizens. The conquest of this place appeared so important to him, that committing the management of the siege of *Brouage* to the baron of *Sainte Mesme*, he departed with a detachment of his army, ventured to pass the *Loire*, and came to the assistance of *Roche-morte*; but upon his arrival, he found that this captain having been killed, the soldiers had surrendred the castle to the citizens. His business then was to think of retreating, which it was very difficult, or rather impossible, for him to do, in a body, because the catholick troops, who were assembled together, were infinitely superior to him in number. He resolved to disband his soldiers, to the intent that they might make their escape in the best manner they could; several got off the more easily, because the whole concern of the catholick generals was to take the prince of *Conde*. He was closely pursued; but at length he turn'd his course for *Normandy*, and having gone through a thousand dangers, reached the isle of *Guernsey*, from whence he passed into *England*, where queen *Elizabeth* caused some vessels to be fitted out for him, to carry him to *Rochelle*.

After this defeat, the baron *de Sainte Mesme* being informed, that the mareschal *de Matignon* was coming to fall upon him, was forced to raise the siege of *Brouage*, and as he retreated, part of his rear was cut in pieces by *S. Luc*.

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D' Aubigne
Ibid.

The king of *Navarre*, who had no very good understanding with the prince of *Conde*, was not overmuch concerned at his misfortune; but, in the mean time, he was threatned with having the whole force of the catholicks shortly upon his back. They began, at the repeated instances of the heads of the league, to put in execution the article of the treaty of *Nemours*, and that before the expiration of the term of six months, after which the calvinists were to abjure the errors of calvinism, under pain of high-treason, banishment, and confiscation of their estates.

On the other hand, the king of *Navarre* seeing that they proceeded, upon this occasion, with the utmost rigor, published a declaration, by which it was ordered, in all the countries where he was master, That the catholicks should be treated in the same manner as the king treated the hugonots. Their goods were seized, and sold, they were banished their towns, and drove from their estates. By this means a great number of catholicks, as well as calvinists, were reduced to the last degrees of misery, nor was there ever seen a desolation like this in the kingdom.

After all, this first campaign, notwithstanding the superior force of the league, was of less advantage to them than to the king of *Navarre*. This prince, by his activity, by the valour of the lords that acted under him, and by the despair of the hugonots, caused almost all the enterprizes of the catholicks to miscarry, and surprized a great number of small towns in *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, and *Guyenne*. The earl of *Laval* made the mareschal de *Matignon* raise the siege of *Tailiebourg*. *Lesaiguières* forced the town of *Chorges* in *Dauphiny*, surprized *Montelimar*, took *Ambrun* at the first onset, and put himself in a condition to maintain the war in this province, by the help of the mountains. The viscount de *Turenne* made himself master of *Tulle*, after a vigorous attack: in a word, the king of *Navarre* made such provision for affairs, that by standing only upon the defensive, in *Guyenne*, he was able to wait a considerable time for foreign succours.

The duke de *Mayenne*, having a very good army, march'd into *Guyenne*, not because he was unable to make a conquest in *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, where the hugonots could not raise five hundred men, but because

D' Aubigne
sous l' an.
1585.

cause he was in hopes of demolishing the king of Navarre, whom he had promised to deliver into the king's hands a prisoner: But he met with much more opposition, in *Guyenne*, than he expected, and the conquests, which he gained in the end of this year 1585, amounted to no more than the taking of *Montignac*, and *Beauhieu*, the first in *Perigord*, and the other in *Limousin*; places which deserve not to be named in history, but for the valour with which the hugonot commanders defended them.

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The following year was neither more glorious, nor more happy for the league, at least in *Guyenne*, and the other provinces on the other side the *Loire*, wherein their principal forces were employed. The king had four armies, the generals of which had each their particular views. The duke of *Mayenne*, in *Guyenne*, designed to push the king of *Navarre* to the utmost. The duke of *Guise*, who commanded that which was the least numerous, upon the frontiers of *Burgundy* and *Champagne*, thought of strengthening his faction in these provinces, and *Picardy*, and of putting himself into a condition to prevent the *Germans* from coming into *France*, in case the protestant princes of *Germany* should send the hugonots recruits. The mareschal de *Matignon*, who commanded a body near *Bordeaux*; the mareschal de *Biron*, who commanded another in *Poitou*; the duke of *Epernon*, and *la Valette* his brother, who were to act in *Provence* and *Dauphiny*, had no other view, but to put a stop, at one and the same time, to the progress both of the hugonots and the league.

The duke of *Mayenne* took *Castels*, seven or eight leagues from *Bordeaux*, *S. Baseile* upon the *Garonne*, *Monsegur*, between that river and the *Dordogne*, and *Chatillon* upon the *Dordogne*. This place was retaken, some time after, by the viscount de *Turenne*, with a single ladder, which he caused to be set against a place that was not guarded, because it was thought inaccessible; upon which it was said, by way of banter, That the hugonots were much better managers than the king; the taking of *Chatillon* having cost him 800 thousand crowns; whereas the viscount de *Turenne* was at no more expence in doing it than four li-

D' Aubigné
T. 3. l. 1;
vres, c. 2.

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D' Aubigne
loc. cit.

These were all the duke of *Mayenne's* exploits during this campaign, while he was less eagerly bent upon making himself master of towns, than upon taking the king of *Navarre*. He kept him always in his eye, and followed him every where, with a design to beset him in some place or other, which he had not fail'd of doing at *Caumont*, but through negligence, or, as several believed, by means of a correspondence, which the viscount *d' Aubeterre*, who was charged with the guard of a post, by which this prince escaped, had with him. He exposed himself to this danger for the sake of paying a visit *en passant* to the countess of *Guiche*: For how hard pressed soever he was by the enemy, he could not dispense with himself from making love.

The king of *Navarre* attempted this passage cross the enemies troops, to make his way to *Xaintonge*, foreseeing that while he continued at *Guyenne*, he would always be obliged to flee before the duke of *Mayenne*, who was much superior to him in force, and resolving not to suffer himself to be distressed in *Bearn*. Being arrived at *Sainte Foy*, he charged the viscount *Turenne* with the general command in *Guyenne*, pursued his journey, and arrived at *Rockelle*, where he was received with much joy. The prince of *Conde*, who commanded as chief in that country, was much less rejoiced than he appeared to be, upon that occasion, being from that time reduced, against his will, to the second place in the command.

The king of *Navarre* found the affairs of the calvinists in a good situation in *Xaintonge*, by the taking of the isle of *Oleron*, which *d' Aubigne*, the author of the universal history of that time, had made himself master of, and from whence he had repulsed *S. Luc*, having first killed him a great number of men.

In the mean time, the duke of *Mayenne*, after the king of *Navarre's* retreat, seeing his army decrease daily, and that no recruits, nor money, nor ammunition were sent him, returned to court, where he openly complain'd, that they had deserted, betrayed, and prevented him from destroying the hugonots in *Guyenne*. The partizans of the league, especially those at *Paris*, did not fail to turn all this against the king, and to accuse

accuse him of favouring the hugonots, at the expence of the catholicks. A. D.

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This complaint was indeed not without foundation; not that this prince wish'd the calvinists might prevail; but he did not think it advisable wholly to exterminate that party, which he look'd upon as a resource for him, which he might have occasion for afterwards against the leaguers, whom, he every day more and more discovered to have ill designs against his royal authority: Besides, his treasury was very much exhausted, and what he could spare from thence for the war, that he chose to make use of to maintain the armies of the duke of *Epernon*, *la Valette*, and the marshal *de Biron*, who were his friends, rather than to augment the power and reputation of the heads of the league.

The protestant princes of *Germany*, notwithstanding the solicitations of the king of *Navarre*, from whom they expected no great reward, had not much bestir'd themselves, till such time as they knew the war was openly declared against the hugonots: for seeing them attacked in all quarters of the kingdom, and perceiving that they were resolved to carry matters to the utmost against them, their zeal revived. However, they agreed together, not to take up arms, without first offering their mediation to the king, for a peace between him and the king of *Navarre*. A prince of the house of *Montbeliard*, attended with some lords, was sent ambassador to *France* for this purpose, from the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandebourgh*, from duke *John Casimire*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and some other protestant princes.

The king heard them, and with great resolution told them, That it did not belong to those princes to intermeddle with the affairs of his kingdom, and make themselves mediators between the sovereign and his rebellious subjects; that he had never concerned himself with the government of their states, not even in regard to religion itself; that they ought much more to use the same conduct towards him, and that to do otherwise, was to declare themselves his enemies.

The king thought himself obliged to answer them in this manner, as well in point of honour, which made it requisite for him not to appear afraid of the

A. D. 1586. *Germans*, as to remove all pretence of complaint and resentment from the league.

 In the mean time, the war was carried on with great vigour in *Xaintonge*. Colonel *Tiercelin* was defeated by the prince of *Conde*, in a small battle; but this victory cost him the loss of the sieurs *de Rieux*, and *de Sailli*. The sieur *de Tanlai*, one of their brothers, died a little before of a fit of sickness at *S. John de Angeli*; and *Guy*, earl of *Laval*, their other brother, who had contributed more than any of them to the defeat of *Tiercelin*, was so sensibly affected with grief for these three losses, that he fell ill of a fever, and died some days after; and thus they were all four carried off within the space of a month. They were sons of the famous *d'Andelot*, and nephews of the admiral *de Coligni*, and inherited both their bravery and attachment to the hugonot religion. *M. de la Trimouille*, duke of *Tkours*, having had his horse killed under him, in the same battle, run the risk of his life; he was the very reverse of his father, who had been, from the first, head of the league in *Poitou*; and he, on the contrary, had turned hugonot, by giving his daughter in marriage to the prince of *Conde*.

Cayer. T. 1.

The king, to get the better of the hugonots, had sent the mareschal *de Biron* to *Poitou*, who putting himself at the head of six or seven thousand men, pursued the king's intentions rather than the designs of the league; that is, he did not press the hugonots very closely. He raised the siege of *Marans*, by the king's order, which had lasted for three months, the place being vigorously defended by monsieur *de la Force*.

Two considerations obliged the king to abandon this enterprize; one was, the preparations of the protestant princes of *Germany*, and the other, the conduct of the leaguers. The dukes of *Guise*, and *Aumale*, under pretence of securing the frontiers, made themselves masters of several places, without waiting for orders, and put their creatures into them for commanders: They had but very lately failed of surprizing *Metz* and *Bologne*.

The king seeing his enemies, both at home and abroad, conspiring in this manner his intire ruine, was resolved to make another attempt upon the king of *Navarre*, touching his conversion, by the interposition of the

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the queen mother, who had some conferences with him near *Coignac*, at the castle of *S. Brix*. They came only to a short truce, the king of *Navarre* continuing firm to the two articles he had always insisted upon, First, That he was by no means obstinate in his religion, and that he was ready to stand to the judgment of a free council. Secondly, That it was wrong to require him to countermand the succours of the *German* princes, when, at the same time, the whole force of the kingdom was marching against him; and that the king to destroy him, had united with the league, though it was notorious, that this faction aim'd only at the ruin of the state, and the royal family, and struck at the authority, and person, of the king himself.

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Henry duke of *Angouleme*, grand prior of *France*, natural son of *Henry II.* govern'd *Provence*, at that time, with a great deal of authority, and kept both the leaguers and hugonots in awe there. He died by a very fatal accident, and his death put the whole province in combustion: The leaguers, the royalists, and the hugonots, made so many different factions there, and much blood was spilt, till the duke d' *Epemon* arrived, who was sent to command there, and with much difficulty re-settled peace and tranquillity. He took *la Reole*, and *Chorgues*, from the hugonots in *Dauphiny*, but lost most of his troops by the rigour of the season.

Diverses Lettres du Duc d' Epemon au Roy & aux Ministres.

The mareschal de *Joyeuse*, at the head of the leaguers, ruined his army also at the taking of some small towns upon the frontiers of *Auvergne* and *Languedoc*, while the mareschal de *Montmorency*, governor of this province, who stiled himself the head of the royalists, kept the leaguers there within bounds, acting in concert with the king: By all this we see in how unhappy a situation this prince was, who was forced to make war upon those who took the sword to maintain his authority, and that by the arms of a party, whose aim was to destroy it. This is the conduct he found himself obliged afterwards to observe more than ever, upon account of the *Germans* entering *France*, and some other events, which signalized the year 1587.

The duke of *Guise* omitted nothing to augment his party, and debauch the loyal servants of the king. His intrigues,

A. D. intrigues, upon this occasion, are to be seen in one of
 1587. his letters, * written to his brother the duke of *May-
 enne*, which informs us, That he made all his efforts
 to draw over the *mareschals de Biron*, and *de Matignon*,
 to the league, and that he solicited *S. Luc*, and *de Bel-
 legarde*, who was afterwards master of the horse of
 France, upon the same subject.

* Rapportee
 dans l'histo-
 ire de Mat-
 thieu. l. 8.

On the other hand, the league of sixteen compleatly
 seconded the heads of the leaguers, as well by the li-
 bels as calumnies against the king, which they di-
 spersed among the people: That which was surprizing,
 upon this occasion, was, that this unhappy faction,
 which for a long time had done so much mischief in
Paris, remained unknown to the king, 'till the begin-
 ning of this year, when a lieutenant of the prevot of
 the isle of *France*, named *Nicholas Pollain*, gave him
 notice of it, and laid before him a particular account
 of all the secret practices of this faction.

The same fear, and the same irresolution, which had
 hindered him from stifling the league upon the first re-
 volt, prevented him from making use of the information
 that was given him of the conspiracy of sixteen. He
 suffered himself to be persuaded, by some of his council,
 that were favourers of it, that there was nothing in it,
 and that the whole was only a forward and indiscreet
 zeal of some private persons for religion, which made
 them apprehensive of having, some time or other, an
 heretical prince for their master.

The preparations of the protestant princes of *Ger-
 many*, served the faction for a pretence to put all the
 provinces in motion, which were indeed greatly alarmed
 at them. The sixteen, in concert with the duke of
Guise, wrote to all their correspondents, That it was
 the king himself, who had sent for this army of fo-
 reigners over in favour of the king of *Navarre*. The
 duke had already given the same account to the pope,
 and a memorial was drawn up, and sent to all parts,
 containing a proposal of what was to be done to
 prevent the misfortunes which threatned *France*, and
 religion.

Lettre du
 Marquis de
 Pisani au
 Roy datee
 du 17 juillet.
 1587.

Cayet. T. 1. According to this proposal, the principal towns in
 the kingdom were to raise a great number of troops, to
 address the king to nominate a catholick prince, and
 one that was no way suspected of favouring the here-
 ticks,

ticks, to command them. In case the petition should be rejected, they were not to leave off proceeding to raise troops, and when once the thing was done, the king was to be constrained to authorize it; which, if he refused to do, then a catholick prince was to be chosen for their head: the extraordinary circumstances they were in, and the danger to which religion was exposed, dispensing, as they said, with subjects for waiting the orders of their sovereign, as they would humbly represent the matter to himself, and this the rather, because his council, and those that were most trusted by him, were for the most part infested with heresy, and even suspected of atheism.

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The faction was very near breaking out this year at *Paris*: For the most warm and forward of the sixteen, being sensible, that the king was informed of part of their intrigues, proposed to throw off the mask, to stir up the people to a revolt, to seize the *Bastile*, the arsenal, the temple, the two *Chatelets*, the palace and the *Louvre*, and the king's own person, to put him into the hands of the duke of *Guise*. The duke de *Mayenne*, who was then at *Paris*, used all his application to cool these hot spirits, by endeavouring to convince them that matters were not yet ripe, and that by being too forward and hasty, they would ruin the whole design.

In the mean time, the duke d'*Epemon* arrived at *Paris* with some troops, which he had brought from *Provence*. The presence of this lord, and his advice, were not sufficient to prevail upon the king's irresolution, or to persuade him to act with spirit and vigour; but upon occasion of a sedition, and an insult pass'd upon the duke d'*Epemon*, at the fair of *S. German*, he placed a guard of soldiers in the *Bastile*, the arsenal and other places, which he knew the rebels had designed to seize. Upon this, the duke de *Mayenne*, who did not think himself safe at *Paris*, went to wait upon the queen mother; and having protested to her, that he had no share in the transaction at the fair of *S. German*, he intreated her to obtain for him the king's permission to retire to *Burgundy*. As his presence was known to be the greatest encouragement to the seditious, and that it would be to no purpose to detain him, unless they had the duke of *Guise* in their possession at the same time,

his

A. D. his request was readily granted, and he departed immediately.
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Thus far matters proceeded, and the king being satisfied with having dissipated the conspiracy, with seeing the leader of it at a distance, and being secure of the chief posts in *Paris*, took no notice of any thing else, nor made any legal inquiries after the sedition.

This soft conduct delivered the duke of *Guise* from the extreme concern he had upon him for his friends at *Paris*, whose ruin would have greatly weakened his faction; but it was necessary for him to think of putting himself into a condition to sustain the efforts of the *German* army, which was preparing to enter *France*; and to oppose the attempts which the hugonots, animated by those expectations, might make on their side.

The duke of *Guise* came to wait upon the king at *Meaux*, to give him notice, that the *Germans* would soon enter upon their march. This prince received him with great marks of kindness and friendship, notwithstanding the new and great occasions, which he had to be displeased with his conduct. They consulted together upon proper methods to oppose the entrance of the *Germans* into the kingdom, and to prevent their joining the king of *Navarre*.

Orders were sent to most of the forces, to repair on the fourth of *July*, some to the frontiers of *Champagne*, and the rest to *Gien*; and another body was appointed to go against the king of *Navarre*, to oppose the design which he had formed of coming to meet the *Germans*. I shall begin the description of this campaign, with an account of what passed in this last army.

The command of it was committed to the duke de *Joyeuse*, to the prejudice of the mareschal d'*Aumont*, to whom it had been promised: But the duke de *Joyeuse* was the favourite at that time. He was followed by a great number of the young nobility, who were proud of appearing with a magnificent equipage at this expedition.

The king of *Navarre*, who took the field in a very seasonable time, had seized several towns in *Poitou*; but being informed that the duke de *Joyeuse* was marching against him, he had preserved only those of them which were most easy to defend, and had razed the

the others, being resolved to march, with all expedition to the river *Loire*, in order to cross it in some fordable place, to join the *Germans* in *Burgundy*, or in case he was intercepted, to withdraw to *Gascogne*. He had been joined by the viscount *de Turenne*, by the prince of *Conde* and the earl of *Soissons*, who, tho' a catholick, had lately, together with the prince of *Conti*, embraced the interest of the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde* their brother, being persuaded, that the design of messieurs *de Guise* was to exterminate the princes of the house of *Bourbon*.

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The duke *de Joyeuse*, who had orders to engage the king of *Navarre*, or oblige him to disperse his troops; followed him, and by extraordinary marches for several days, found himself, on the eighteenth of *October*, very near that prince, who had incamped at *Monlieu*, upon the frontiers of *Perigord* and *Guyenne*. The duke's army was much stronger than that of the king of *Navarre*, who, before he could reach *Guyenne*, had two rivers to pass, viz. the *Drogne* and the *Isle*, and the duke was ready to charge him at the passage: But the prince was in greatest danger from the marshal *de Maignon*, who, according to the orders he had received from court, was set forward from *Bordeaux*, in order to intercept his passage, and inclose him between his army and that of the duke *de Joyeuse*.

The hopes which this duke had conceived, of having solely the glory of defeating the king of *Navarre*, delivered that prince out of this second danger. As for his part, he was resolved, notwithstanding the superiority of his enemy's forces, to accept the battle, which he plainly perceived the duke *de Joyeuse* was determined to offer him. Accordingly they advanced, as it were, by concert, up to each other, in order to engage; and the battle was fought near the borough of *Coutras*.

Hist. du Mar-
schal de
Maignon,
l. 2.

The king of *Navarre* was, at first, unsuccessful; part of his cavalry was severely handled, the squadrons of *la Trimouille*, *Arambure* and *Turenne*, broken and dissipated by those of *Lavardin*, captain *Mercury*, an *Albanois*, and *Montigni*; and the catholick army began to shout for victory.

There are some moments, in which all depends upon the present dispositions of the soldiers. The first misfortune, which naturally should have discouraged the hugonot

A. D. hugonot infantry, inspired them with fury. The officers *Montgomery* and *Bélzunce*, cried out to the soldiers of their regiments; *My boys, we must perish; but in the midst of our enemies: Come on sword in hand, we have nothing more to do with barquebusses;* and posting themselves, with the rest of the officers, at the head of the batallion, which consisted of not above three hundred men, they run headlong upon the catholic infantry, which was a third part more numerous than they, fell cross the pikes, warding them off, or wresting them from the pike-men, broke through them, and put them intirely to the rout,

D'Aubigne,
T. 3. l. 1.
p. 16.

Thus matters went upon the left wing. The king of *Navarre's* infantry acted with no less bravery in the right, where captain *Charbonnieres* charged the regiments of *Tiercelin* and *Picardy*, utterly defeated them, and made a great slaughter of them.

These three charges of cavalry and infantry were given at the same time. The duke *de Joyeuse* having seen the defeat of part of the hugonot cavalry, prepared immediately to go and rout the two largest squadrons of the hugonot army, one of which was commanded by the king of *Navarre*, and the other by the prince of *Conde*; and another somewhat less, led up by the earl of *Soissons*, who was coming against him. He would have had a great advantage, if *Lavardin*, after pursuing the fugitives to the river, had rallied, and attack'd the prince of *Conde* by the flank, which he had discovered, while the duke fell upon the front; but it was not in his power to get his men together again, and especially the *Albanois*, who amused themselves with pillaging the baggage in *Coutras*.

The body of the duke *de Joyeuse's* army divided into three parts, to fall upon the three squadrons above-mention'd at the same time. And here we have an instance, how unserviceable valour is without experience and military discipline.

The gendarmery of the duke *de Joyeuse* was in the first ranks, couching their lances, in order to break through and overthrow the three opposite squadrons. In these kinds of assaults of the gendarmery, two things were necessary to be observed. First, that the gendarms should march close upon the same line, in order to fall upon the whole front at the same time. Secondly, that they

they should not take too long a career, as the language of that time expresses it; that is, that they should not begin at too great a distance to run with full speed, for fear of putting themselves and horses out of breath, and losing part of their forces, being extremely loaden with the weight of their arms.

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The warmth of this young nobility, hindered them from observing these two rules. Several of them approaching the enemy, were the length of their horses without the rank, and having taken the career at too great a distance, were the cause that scarce one of them did dismount the man that he attacked; but that which disconcerted them the most, was the discharge that was very seasonably and very closely made by the harquebusiers, whom the king of *Navarre* had placed by each squadron. A great number of them were thrown upon the ground, and the squadrons of this prince, which had not stirr'd till the enemies were within ten paces of them, having thrust and broke through the breaches with very short, and, consequently, very strong lances, pierced and press'd them so close, that most of them could make no use of their long lances, and were obliged to heave them up in the air, which, in all these kinds of engagements, is a sign of an approaching defeat. Accordingly it was not long before it arrived: The whole body of the horse was broken through from one end to the other, attack'd by the two flanks, and soon dissipated; and as the infantry of the two wings was already routed, the battle, which lasted but an hour, was intirely gain'd by the king of *Navarre*.

That prince, upon this occasion, shew'd all the conduct of a very great officer, and exposed himself in the hottest part of the engagement as a common soldier. The duke *de Joyeuse* being desirous to surrender himself to captain *S. Christopher* and to *Vignole*, threw them his sword, promising them a ransom of 100000 crowns; but the captains *Bordeaux*, *des Centiers*, *Lamothe*, *S. Herai*, coming up at the same instant, the last of them shot him in the head with a pistol, and killed him.

Such was the issue of the battle of *Coutras*, which was fought on the twentieth of *October*. The victory was a compleat one, three thousand foot perished on the side of the catholicks, much cavalry, and above
four

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four hundred gentlemen. The marquis de *S. Sauveur*, brother to the duke de *Joyeuse*, and many other lords, met with the same fate as their general. Several others were taken prisoners. The king of *Navarre*'s loss was inconsiderable; only a few common soldiers and five gentlemen were killed, and not one person of distinction. The disorder and confusion that presently arose in the duke de *Joyeuse*'s fine troop, were the principal cause of his intire defeat, and the somewhat bloody victory of his enemies.

This happy success was so much the more agreeable to the king of *Navarre*, as it afforded him the glorious opportunity of being the first that had gain'd a battle at the head of a party, which, till then, had always been beaten in a general action, and under the conduct of the greatest soldiers; such as the late prince of *Conde* and the admiral de *Coligni*: Besides this, he added much to the glory of his victory, by the honourable and generous treatment he shewed towards the vanquished; but the little advantage he drew from it was an injury to his reputation.

Memoires de
Sully. T. 1.
c. 24.

The point was to resolve upon two advantageous steps, either of which it was in his power to take. One was, to advance with his victorious army towards the upper *Loire*, where *Monglas* had given the rendezvous in his name to the *German* army; the other was, to make himself master of the provinces of *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, *Poitou*, and that part of *Anjou* which lies on the other side the *Loire*. All the towns of these provinces, excepting *Poitiers* and *Angouleme*, were in no condition to resist him; and he might have fortified himself in such a manner there, as to make head a long time against all the forces of the king and the league.

But he did neither the one nor the other, at the persuasion of the viscount de *Turenne*, who, upon that occasion, prefer'd certain private interests to the true advantages of his master. Eight days after the battle, the king of *Navarre* separated his troops; one part of them he sent to *Angoumois*, under the command of the prince of *Conde*; another part he employed in taking several small posts upon the river *l'Isle*, where many more brave men perished, than he had lost at the battle of *Couras*. He left the viscount de *Turenne* to command in those quarters, who performed no one action there

there worthy of his abilities or reputation. He charged the prince of *Conde* to go and put himself at the head of the *Germans*, who were absolutely resolved to have a prince of the blood for their leader, and set forward with the earl of *Soissons*, being guarded by a body of horse, in order to go to *Bearn*.

The memoirs of the persons of his court, who were the best affected to him, will not pardon him this great fault; and one of them * thought himself very favourable to him, when he said, That it was the greatest of this nature which that prince committed. They give us to understand, that it was not so much the viscount *de Turenne's* reasons, which prevailed upon him to take that resolution, as the passion by which he suffer'd himself to be too much guided, and that he was exceeding glad of the pretence of some affairs, and chiefly of that of his sister's marriage, to go to *Bearn* to pay the homage of his victory to the countess *de Grammont*, to whom he presented the standards of twenty companies of ordonnance, which he had taken at the battle of *Courras*.

The news of the duke *de Joyeuse's* defeat greatly startled the court; but possibly the king would not have been much troubled at this misfortune of the leaguers, if it had not been attended with the conjuncture of the irruption of the *Germans* into *France*. At present, therefore, I shall just touch upon the methods that were taken to divert this tempest, which was going to fall upon the kingdom, and which, in regard to the situation of affairs at that time, exposed it to one of the greatest dangers, that it had ever reason to be afraid of.

The foreign army was composed of above eight thousand reisters, five thousand lansquenets, and sixteen thousand *Swiss* of the protestant cantons; and when it was joined by the troops of the duke of *Bouillon*, by those which *Chatillon*, son of the late admiral *de Coligni* commanded, and by some other recruits, it amounted to the number of thirty-five or forty thousand men.

The baron *Donaw*, lord of one of the most illustrious families of *Prussia*, was at the head of this army. He was constantly to have the command of the *German* troops; but the general command was design'd for the duke

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Memoires de

Sully.

D'Aubigné

loc. cit.

A. D. duke of *Bouillon*, as soon as he arrived, 'till the coming
1587. of the king of *Navarre*, or the prince of *Conde*.

The king, to oppose this inundation of foreigners, according to the design he had agreed upon with the duke of *Guise* at the conferences held at *Meaux*, divided his troops into three bodies: The first drew up at *Chaumont* in *Basigni*, and was to march under the command of the duke of *Guise*: The second at *Troye*, which was to be commanded by the duke de *Montpensier*; and the third at *Gien* upon the *Loire*, where the king had fixed his post, and was to command in person.

The duke of *Guise's* body was the least numerous, that of the duke de *Montpensier* was stronger; he afterwards join'd the king's army, where there were more troops than in both the others together. When the strangers had passed the *Rhine*, the duke of *Guise* joined his forces to those of the duke of *Lorraine*. They marched together by the side of the enemies, who ravaged all the country of *Lorraine*; but could not make themselves masters of any one town, saving *Sarbourg*, which they abandon'd after they had pillaged it. When they had passed the *Meuse* at *Neuschatel*, the duke of *Lorraine* separated himself from the duke of *Guise*, under pretence that he could not enter the kingdom without the king's permission, and the duke of *Guise* had only four thousand men left; but was reinforced afterwards with two thousand more, who were brought him by the dukes of *Mayenne*, *Aumale*, and *Elbeuf*, the count de *Brissac* and monsieur de *Chaligni*.

All his business was to harass the enemies army, to intercept their provisions, and take away their forage, and they suffered extremely by his activity: They passed the *Seine* above *Chatillon*, and arrived about the middle of *October*, within sight of *la Charite* upon the *Loire*. It was by this city that the duke of *Deux-ponts* had formerly opened himself a passage over the *Loire*; but it was well guarded. The fords both above and below, were either broken, or fenced with excellent intrenchments; and the protestants were much surprized to understand that the king was on the other side of the river in person, with a powerful army to dispute the passage with them.

This prince was at last awakened out of his profound sleep, and began to appear the same man that he was formerly at the battles of *Jarnac* and *Moncontour*, always on horse-back, giving and causing his orders to be executed, taking care of every thing, discharging all the duties of a vigilant and excellent leader, capable of putting an end to the misfortunes of his government, if they had not been so inveterate, for want of speedily applying an effectual remedy, by a conduct like that which he observed when it was too late.

The *Germans* designed to attempt the ford of *Neuvy*; but durst not venture, when they came to take a view of it, as well upon account of the intrenchments, which were well furnished with musqueteers to defend it, as because of three boats, that were ready armed upon the river, to fall upon their flank, if they offer'd to attempt the passage.

Here the baron *Donaw*, being greatly disappointed, made heavy complaints to the *French* officers, for having brought him thither to destroy his troops without being able to draw a sword, and declared to them, that he was resolved to return to *Germany*, whatever dangers he expected to meet with in the retreat.

This declaration greatly astonished the *French* officers. They used all their endeavours to appease him; and after several expedients, none of which satisfied the baron, they persuaded him to wait, at least, for the return of a courier, whom they had dispatched to the king of *Navarre*, and made a proposal to him, of carrying his troops to *la Beausse*, a fat country, where there was plenty of forage and corn, and he might find an opportunity of supplying the pay that was due to his soldiers, by the pillage of some town.

At length he accepted this offer, being unable to think of any thing better, and on the next day the army marched forward for *la Beausse*, and came to the country about *Montargis*, having the river *Loire* upon the right, and being constantly attended by the duke of *Guise* on the other side that river, which it was in his power to pass whenever he pleased, being master of *Montargis* and other passages, without any fear of the enemy's being able to come at him.

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D'Avila, l. 8.

D'Avila loc.
cit.

Memoires de
la Ligue, T.

2.
D'Aubigne,

T. 3. l. 1. c.

27.
Cayet. T. 1.

Matthieu, l. 8.

The baron *Donaw* took up his lodging at *Vimori* on the twentieth of *October*, with seven or eight companies of reisters, a league from *Montargis*, and dispersed his troops in very distant quarters for the convenience of subsisting. The duke of *Guise* was exactly informed of this disposal of the enemy's troops, and of their negligence in keeping guard, by captain *Frata* an *Albanois*, resolved to give them a cannisado, arrived in the night at *Vimori*, and caused the borough to be assaulted. The fight was very obstinate, and, if we may believe the duke of *Guise's* panegyrists, this prince had all the advantage; but if the relations of the calvinists are to be credited, and even those of some catholicks also, there were many more of his men killed, than of the *Germans*. Be that as it will, the ruin of the *German* baggage, which was partly plunder'd and partly burnt, by setting fire to the borough, was the greatest advantage which the duke of *Guise* reaped from this expedition: For that was the cause that three days after, the reisters mutinied, and were very near resuming their resolution, of returning into their own country, or surrendring to the king. But during these transactions, the news of the victory at *Coutras* arrived, and the false report which had at first been spread abroad, concerning the death of the king of *Navarre* in the battle, being removed, the *Germans* recovered their courage, to which also the taking of *Chateau-Landon* contributed, which *Charillon* carried by storm after much resistance; the pillage was left to the reisters, and the ransom of the prisoners was also distributed among them.

From thence they march'd to the little river of *Some*, which runs through *Etampes*, and turning towards *Chartres* in *November*, they came up within two leagues of this city, being constantly followed by the dukes of *Guise* and *Espernon*, whom the king, after passing the *Loire*, had caused to advance on that side with his van.

Hither the prince of *Conti* came to put himself at the head of this army, which he found in a very miserable condition, and upon the point of being yet made weaker by half their number, through the negotiation which the *Swiss* were carrying on with the king, in consequence of the remonstrances, which he

had

had caused to be made under-hand to their heads; for that contrary to the treaties of alliance so often renewed with the cantons, they bore arms against him in his own kingdom. A. D. 1587.

Indeed the duke *de Nevers* represented to them with so much force and persuasion, the danger they were all in of perishing miserably with the *Germans*; adding to his remonstrances, the offer of 400000 crowns, which the king promised them, that at last they determined to forsake the army. As soon as they had declared their resolution, the *German* troops were in an extreme consternation, which was greatly increased by a new accident which happened to them at the same time that the *Swiss* were preparing to retire with their baggage. Memoires de Nevers, T. 2.

This accident was the attack of the little town of *Aulneau*, where the baron *Donaw*, with great part of his reisters, had remained three days. The duke of *Guise* surprized him there, when he was upon the point of marching off. This enterprize was conducted with all imaginable prudence, and executed with much valour. Twelve hundred *Germans* were killed upon that occasion, and many others taken prisoners. The baron forced his passage sword in hand, and came to join the *Swiss* and *Chatillon* at a league distance. D'Aubigne, P. 3. l. 1. c. 28.

This defeat determined the *Germans* to follow the example of the *Swiss*, and treat with the king. The negotiations lasted some days, and at length the treaty was concluded at *Marsigni* on the eighth of *December*, both with the *Germans* and the *French* of their army, upon the following conditions.

That the *French* should be at liberty to return to their houses, conforming themselves to the king's edicts, and that they should be restor'd to the possession of their estates, provided they swore never to take up arms in the kingdom, without his express command.

That those of the *French*, that would not continue in *France*, should be at liberty to depart with the foreign troops and replevy of their estates, upon condition of taking the oath abovementioned, and surrendering their colours.

As for the strangers, it was agreed to give them a passport to the nearest frontier of the kingdom, upon condition that the colonels, captains, and reit-masters

A. D. should take an oath never to bear arms in *France*
 1587. against the king, nor to re-enter the kingdom without
 his order.

That they should be allowed to carry off their colours, but not to display them in the march; that they should commit no act of hostility during their return, nor carry off any prisoners; and that upon these conditions, they should be furnished with subsistence to the frontier.

This treaty being signed, the *Germans* enter'd upon their march for *Lorraine*, upon the borders of which they committed great ravages, to be revenged for the marquis *de Pont*'s carrying away part of their baggage. Most of them died upon the road thro' fatigue or sickness, and very few reached their own country.

The case was almost the same with the *Swiss*, some colonels and captains of whom were punished by their lords for having given the king satisfaction. The duke *de Bouillon* retired to *Geneva*, where he died, either of grief or fatigue, on the eleventh of *January* following. *Henry* prince of *Conde* did not survive him two months, dying at *S. John d'Angeli* at the age of thirty five, in *March* the same year. The physicians discovered some marks of poison upon the opening of his body. He was a prince, whose courage perfectly answered to the name he bore; but whose ambition, and the jealousy which he had conceived against the king of *Navarre*, hinder'd him doing his party as much service as lay in his power.

Before we speak of the consequences which followed this entire ruin of the *German* and *Swiss* army, and of the effects which it produced, I shall just mention the most considerable transactions in *Dauphiny* and the neighbourhood, during this campaign. This was almost the only place where any thing remarkable happen'd, because the whole forces of both parties were chiefly employed upon the frontiers of *Guyenne*, and between the rivers of *Loire* and *Seine*.

D'Aubigne, *Lesdiguieres* made himself master of several little
 T 3. l. c. c. posts in this province, to strengthen himself, and main-
 10. tain the war there. On the other hand, some catho-
 Memoires de lick gentlemen getting together, surprized the city of
 la Ligue, T. 2. *Montelimar*, and prepared to force the castle, having
 chosen.

chosen *Francis de la Baume*, count *Suze* for their head. A. D.

1587.

Several hugonot gentlemen having repaired to the castle, in order to undertake the defence of it, received a recruit of some others from *Lefdiguieres*. The sieur *de Poet*, who commanded in the castle, sallied out with the whole garrison, and gave the assault to the intrenchments, which the catholicks had made, to facilitate the attack from the town. He fell upon them at the right, and gave the left to captain *Vacheret*. They were repulsed at the first assault, and forced the intrenchments at the second. The count *de Suze* coming up immediately at the head of a body of horse to charge them, was mortally wounded by the shot of an harquebuss. The leader being removed, a terror seized the troops: The calvinists pursued them with their swords in their backs, and near two thousand catholicks perished upon the occasion.

This advantage was counterbalanced by the defeat of three thousand *Swiss*, that came to join *Lefdiguieres*, who were intirely routed by *Alphonfus d'Ornano*, colonel of the *Corfes*, who were in the king's service. Cayet. T. 1

This prince, after the successful campaign that he had made, returned to *Paris*, where he arrived two days before *Christmass*, and deserved to be received as the deliverer of the state: For at the bottom, it was he that saved it, by preventing the foreign army from passing the *Loire*, through the wise precautions he took to render the passage impracticable. This was the thing that disconcerted all their measures, that reduced them to the last extremity, that ruined them, and obliged them to depart the kingdom, by a treaty as dishonourable to them, as it was glorious for the *French* nation. Thuanus: l. 87.

But the malice and treachery of the faction of sixteen, and the other partisans of the house of *Guise*, had already too much prevailed. They ceased not to calumniate this prince, to conceal and diminish every thing that might attract the esteem and love of his subjects to him, and to misrepresent his intentions. It was always he that caused the foreign army to enter the kingdom. It was the duke of *Guise* alone that

A. D. had defeated it. The *camisades* of *Vimori* and *Aul-neau*, were exploits equal to those of the greatest commanders, and master-pieces of the party for the safety of the state. In making the treaty with the *Germans*, he had been envied the glory of destroying them universally. All the talk was of the encomiums which the pope, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy* had given this christian hero; the pulpit resounded his praises. They thought it a favour to give the king some share only in the victory; and put a kind of force upon themselves in repeating those words of scripture in their sermons; *Saul has killed his thousands, but David his ten thousands*; which soon came to be the common cry of the people, so that nothing else was heard in *Paris*, even in the market places and halls.

Cayet pref.
T. 1.
Journ. I de
Henry III.

Several curates of *Paris*, the most presumptuous of which were *Prevot*, curate of *S. Severin*, and *Boucher*, curate of *S. Bennet*, observed no farther measures of decency or regard. These incendiaries had already corrupted great part of the faculty of *Theology* at *Paris*. The first and most criminal step taken by the doctors, was upon the sixteenth of *December* this year 1587, in a private meeting, where a case of conscience, which was proposed to them, was thus decided, *That princes might be deprived of the government, when they did not act, as they ought, as well as a suspected protector of the administration.*

An outrage of this consequence, deserved something more than a reproof, which, however, the king contented himself with. The menaces which he made, without executing, were look'd upon as assurances of impunity for the future. The guilty being persuaded, that they forbore to punish them, only because they durst not do it, became more daring, and made use of that to improve their power with the populace, and to animate them more and more against the king.

In the mean time the duke of *Guise* came to *Nancy* in *February*, where the chief heads of the faction were assembled; and, among other things, it was concluded, that the king should be required to take effectual means for the destruction of heresy in the kingdom, and to put those means in execution. The me-

moir

moir * that was sent to him upon that occasion, contain'd a great number of articles, most of which tended to destroy intirely the royal authority.

A. D.
1538.

Besides the publication of the council of *Trent*, and the establishment of a tribunal of the inquisition, which were demanded of him, the king was desired to put the most important towns of the kingdom into the hands of certain persons, whom they nominated to him, with a power to cause citadels to be built in them, to keep such garrisons as they thought proper, to cause the estates of all the hereticks to be sold for the soldiers pay, and to discharge the debts contracted by the heads of the catholick troops; and that the money which arose from thence, should be committed to the custody of such as they should mention to the king, without power to put it to any other uses.

* Rapporte
pard'Au-
bigne T. 3.
I. C. 21.

The king having received this paper, could not forbear dropping some sighs as he read it; but refraining himself, he made as if he did not greatly disapprove of it; but was determined to pursue the hugonots more vigorously than ever, to carry the war into *Poitou*, and to set down before *Rochelle* with the duke of *Guise*.


D' Aubigne
loc. cit.
Mathieu. I. 8.
Cayet, T. 1.

But let the king do what he wou'd, all his steps, and all his words, were taken in ill part, and maliciously interpreted by the sixteen, and those of their faction. Their presumption increased daily, as well as the king's difficulties and timorousness, who contented himself with complaining and threatening sometimes, but without acting.

The week before *Easter* he sent for the chief of the sixteen, and, among others, the president *de Neuville*, to whom he gave a severe rebuke, and threatened to seize him and all his faction, if they did not forbear. This menace frightened them so, that they sent to the duke of *Guise*, desiring him to come, without delay, to their assistance; which he promised to do, and repair'd to *Soissons*, where he had a conference with the cardinal *de Bourbon*; designing to go from thence to *Paris*, as soon as he should be perfectly instructed concerning the state of affairs, and what he might depend upon with regard to the *Parisians*.

Thuanus
l. 90.
D' Aubigne
&c.

In the mean time, he order'd them to furnish themselves with a sufficient quantity of arms in all the wards of the city, and appointed five out of the number

A. D. 1588.  ber of sixteen, where they should assemble in case of need, to the intent their forces might not be too much divided. He sent some lords and officers of the army before, who were persons of authority and experience, to take up their lodgings in different places, that they might be in a condition to head the citizens. Some others went to lodge at *Aubervilliers, la Villete, S. Ouen, and S. Denys*, where they might be join'd in a short time by five hundred troopers distributed thereabouts.

The court had some notice of these preparations, and of a meeting of the sixteen, which was held in the house of *la Chapelle*, one of the most factious persons of the party. The king called a council upon the occasion; but no other resolution was taken, saving that the king should send the duke of *Guise* an order to prohibit him coming to *Paris*. *Pomponius de Bellievre* was intrusted with this message. The duke answer'd only, with complaints of the suspicions which his enemies were continually suggesting into the king's mind against him. After much discourse, *Bellievre* having obtained a promise of him to suspend his march for three days, in order to wait for the answer of the court, returned. A dispatch from *Switzerland* requiring a speedy answer, caused the king to retain *Bellievre* at *Paris*, and they contented themselves with sending a courier to carry the answer in writing. The courier, not meeting with any money at the treasurer's *de l'Espagne* to pay his passage, put the packet into the post. The duke of *Guise* protested afterwards, that he received neither this letter, nor any other that had been directed to him the same way. Thus having waited five or six days for *Bellievre's* return, he look'd upon the treatment they shewed him as a contempt, and being continually press'd by the *Parisians*, he resolved to set forward.

So he parted from *Soissons*, and entred *Paris* upon the ninth of *May* about noon, attended only with eight gentlemen, and went to light at the nunnery of the repenting maids, where he knew the queen mother then was. The manner in which she received him, sufficiently discovered to him her fright and concern.

After a short discourse, in which he endeavour'd to justify his conduct, the queen sent *Verderonne* to the king,

king, to acquaint him of the duke of *Guise's* arrival, and to know whether it was his pleasure that she should bring him to him, as the duke had desir'd her.

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The king, equally surprized and incens'd at his presumption, stood speechless a while, and then answer'd in the affirmative. The king's first thought was to have him stabb'd immediately upon his entring the *Louvre*; *Villequier* and *la Guiche*, who were present, apprehended this by some words that fell from him. They laid before him the danger to which he would expose his person; that the duke's death would be no sooner known, than he would see an hundred thousand men in arms investing the *Louvre*; and that the whole court and his majesty would be the first sacrifice to the fury of a populace, whom they could not restrain within bounds.

The king was moved, but not fully perswaded by this reason; but it was the disposition of this prince to pass easily from a settled design to irresolution, and from that to the contrary.

In the mean time, the queen went into her chair to go to the *Louvre* with the duke of *Guise*, who follow'd her on foot. Scarcely did the people regard her at all; all the salutations, and all the acclamations were for the duke of *Guise*; nothing could be heard, but *God preserve Guise, God preserve the defender of the church and catholick religion, the saviour of Paris*. He answer'd to all these applauses by the gayety of his countenance, holding his hat in his hand, bowing on the right and left with that obliging popular air which was natural to him, and which 'till then had been but of too great advantage to him, with regard to those whom he undertook to seduce.

Being entred the *Louvre*, he was conducted to the chamber of the young queen, who was in bed. The king, who entred immediately after, ask'd him, with a very severe countenance, *Who brought you here?* The duke, beginning to justify himself, was interrupted by the king, who turning to *Bellievre*, ask'd him, if he had not assured him, that the duke of *Guise* would not come to *Paris*? Did not you tell me so, monsieur? replies *Bellievre*, speaking to the duke of *Guise*: But, monsieur, says the duke, did not you promise me to to return to *Soissons* within three days?

It

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It is true, answers *Believre*; but you have received two letters, in which I repeated the king's orders to you, and acquainted you with the reasons that prevented my returning to *Soissons*. Upon which the duke of *Guise* protested, with solemn oaths, that he had not received his letters, and repeated what he had begun to say at first, that he was come for no other reason, but to defend himself from the calumnies of his enemies, and to assure his majesty of the sincerity of his intentions, and of his attachment to his service. Is it so? says the king, you shall justify yourself by your conduct, and I will judge of your intentions by the effects.

The duke of *Guise* made no reply, and having bowed with profound reverence, he withdrew. How short soever this conference was, it appeared very long to him. He went out of the *Louvre* with a fixed resolution never to return thither any more without a large attendance, and too happy in having got off. The people made a great shout at his return, and attended him in a kind of triumph back to his hotel.

The rest of the day, and all the night, the court and city were in continual noise and tumults. The next day, being *Tuesday*, the tenth of the month, and the day following, were spent in negotiations; and at length the king, seeing the insolence of the faction, and the dispositions to a general revolt, increase more and more, did that which he should have done at least three days sooner, which was to bring the *Swiss* into *Paris*, to join them to the *French* guards, and by their means to make himself master of the principal posts of the city, in order to keep the citizens in awe, to break off the communication of the wards with each other, and to seize the heads of the revolt.

Thuanus
l. 90.
D'Aubigne.
Cayet, T. 1.

On the twelfth of *May*, at break of day, the sieur *de Canaye*, who commanded at the post *S. Honore*, having given the keys of it to the marquis *d'O*, the *Swiss* entred immediately without any noise to the number of four thousand, followed by two thousand *French* foot. One party was conducted to the church-yard of the *Holy Innocents*, another to the *Greve*, and a third to *Marche-Neuf*. The *French* guards drew up in arms upon the *Petit Pont*, *Pont S. Michael*, and *Pont Notre-Dame*. *Crillon*, colonel of the *French* guards, had a mind also to seize the *Place Maubert*, a very important

important post at that conjuncture, because the university-quarter, and part of the city, to the east and south of the river, were bounded by it; but as he found a great multitude of people in arms there, and had express orders to use no violence, he was forced to retire against his will, and opinion, which was to get possession of this post what price soever it cost him.

This prohibition of charging the populace, if there had been occasion for it, and the neglect of seizing the *Place Maubert*, were two of the greatest mistakes that cou'd be committed at this juncture. The first served only to encourage the seditious, and the second left them masters of all the quarters of the university, and it was there that the insurrection began.

Cruce, *procureur au Chatelet*, one of the most violent of the sixteen, having had notice by half an hour after four in the morning, that the soldiers entred by *S. Honore*, sent three young fellows, to cry out, in all the streets of the university, *Quarter, murder, murder*, which was the signal for all those of the faction to repair to their corps *de Garde*. The others, that did not belong to the faction, coming also out of their houses at the noise, and asking what was the matter, were answered, That *Chatillon*, with an infinite number of hugonots, was in the suburbs of *S. Germain*, in order to surprize the city. This news, ridiculous as it was, made them take up arms, and follow the faction.

At the same time, the captains, and other officers of the army, which the duke of *Guise* had at *Paris*, distributed themselves in the several quarters, to preside over the citizens, and prevent confusion.

The count *de Brissac* had chosen his post in the university, and meeting a large troop of scholars armed, caused the first barricado to be made with casks, from whence came the name of this battle, which was called the battle of barricadoes. They were raised with wonderful expedition in all the streets in those quarters, and extended as far as the little *Chatelet*, on this side of which by *S. Severin*, when *Cruce* arrived, the officers of the king's guard had already placed centinels; but he causing the musqueteers to pass on the other side of the street, obliged the sentinels to return to the other side of the *Chatelet*.

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The same was done in the other parts of *Paris*. The principal streets were chain'd, the barricadoes continually going forward, being supported behind by a large number of musqueteers, and some great guns: there were some, by noon, advanced within fifty paces of the *Louvre*; so that, in a few hours, the soldiers were every where inclosed, exposed to the musket-shots from the windows, and to the stones with which each house was furnished by unpaving the streets, and found themselves incapacitated for retreating, or attempting to force any passage, without being overwhelmed on all sides.

However, neither side as yet attack'd the other; the *Parisians*, and those that headed them, contenting themselves with keeping the soldiers block'd up. The queen mother went to the hotel *de Guise*, to persuade the duke to depart the city, by giving him all possible assurances of all that he could desire for himself, for his men, and the citizens of *Paris*.

He amused her, at first, with general answers, with several difficulties which he started, with the complaints, which he intermix'd, at every turn, with the discourse; expecting to be inform'd more exactly of the state of affairs; and as soon as he had receiv'd a certain account of it, he told her plainly, That it was not proper for him to leave *Paris*, and abandon so many good catholicks, who had taken up arms only in defence of their lives, and their religion, to the fury of the king's evil counsellors; protesting moreover, that he had no hand in all that had passed, and that it was not in his power to curb the transport of an armed populace, that had been very unseasonably obliged to revolt.

At the queen's return, the king, not knowing which way to take, sent an order to the soldiers, to quit their posts, and return to the *Louvre*; but it was too late: A soldier having discharg'd a musket towards the *Marche-Neuf*, where the *Swiss* were placed, they began to fire upon them, and throw stones at them. A score of them were killed upon this occasion, and many more wounded. The rest, seeing the stones shower down from all parts, began to ask quarter, crying out, *Good Catholicks*, beckning with their bonnets, and shewing their beads.

Then

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Then the count *de Brissac* coming up, caused the musket-shots to cease, and addressing himself to the gentlemen that attended him, said to them, laughing, I have at last found my ground: The king, who said, that I was worth nothing, either upon land or sea, shall see, at least, that I am good upon the pavement. This was spoken with relation to the battle *des Azorres*, where *Strozi* had been defeated at sea by the marquis *de Sainte Croix*, and where *Brissac* was present, upon which the king being offended at his turning to the league, had delivered himself concerning him in so disagreeable a manner.

He caused the *Swiss* to withdraw to the boucheries of *Marche-Neuf*, after having disarmed them, while the rest, together with the *French* soldiers, having been roughly handled in other places, were obliged to cry, *Vive Guise*, in like manner, and to surrender themselves to captain *S. Paul*, and some others of the same party.

The duke of *Guise* being informed of these happy successes, came out of his hotel with no other arms but his sword. As soon as he appeared, they shouted with fresh cries of joy where-ever he passed. He went from barricade to barricade, appeasing the people, and hindring them from doing any more violence to the soldiers. He order'd them to restore the arms, which they had taken from the *Swiss*, and caused them to be conducted to the *Louvre* by the count *de Brissac*. *S. Paul* had orders to put himself at the head of the *French* guards, and to lead them also to the *Louvre*, but with this difference, that they were obliged to march bare-headed, trailing their arms, to give the *Parisians*, as it were, a relish of the pleasure of their victory, by this spectacle.

The court was very uneasy during the night that followed this battle; and on the other hand, the faction of sixteen very much bestirred themselves, being resolv'd to push matters to the utmost, and to seize the king's person.

The next day the queen mother, going to the hotel *de Guise*, omitted nothing to persuade the duke to cause the citizens to lay down their arms, and to come and wait upon the king, assuring him, that he should have all the satisfaction he could desire. He answered, that

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that he would not go to the *Louvre*, being sensible of the danger that he had run, when he went thither to justify himself upon his arrival at *Paris*. He afterwards made a proposal for accommodation, but it was a very rough one, and which tended to the putting the whole power of the kingdom into his hands.

The queen, who had readily undertaken this negotiation, in hopes that it would only cost her the banishment of some favourites, which she herself wish'd, in order to recover the place which they had taken from her in the government, was greatly surprized at the duke of *Guise's* pretensions; so that she sent *Priart*, secretary of state to the king, to tell him, that though she had opposed several of the council, that had advised him to leave *Paris*, she was now of that opinion, and that there was infallibly some ill design a brewing against his person.

The king receiving this advice about half an hour after five in the evening, resolved immediately to withdraw. The *Swiss* and *French* guards had orders to go before, and they cover'd over their departure with the pretence of removing all fear and umbrage from the *Parisians*, by removing the troops from *Paris*. The king afterwards taking occasion to walk in the garden of the *Thuilleries*, mounted on a sudden, with some courtiers, and military officers, whom he had intrusted with the secret. He passed the river at the bridge of *S. Cloud*, and arrived the next day at *Chartres*. The *Parisians* seeing him gone, and at a great distance off, abandoned themselves to the most outrageous reproaches and imprecations imaginable.

The queen was still at the hotel *de Guise*, when *Menerville* came to whisper the duke, that the king was gone, at which he seemed under a great consternation, and immediately told the queen: Madam, you amuse me, and you ruine me. The queen pretended to know nothing of it, and this incident having broken up the conference, she returned to the *Louvre*.

The duke of *Guise* being absolute master of *Paris*, took a pride in restoring order and peace there, after he had caused so much trouble and confusion in it.

He

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1588.

He ordered the barricadoes to be taken away, the chains to be unloosed, and the people every where to lay down their arms. He was immediately obeyed, and the next day there was not the least motion to be discovered in all this great city.

He made himself master of the *Bastile*, and arsenal, and appointed *Bussi-le-Clerc*, procurator in parliament, captain of them. This odd and ridiculous choice was made only in complaisance to the citizens, upon account of this man's devotion to his service, and his known fury against the king, and the hugonots. He seized the *Chateau de Vincennes*, and *de Corbeil*, in order to command the *Seine*, and for fear lest *Paris* should be intercepted provisions on that side. The *sieur de Pereuse*, *prevot des Marchands*, and the loyal sheriffs were deposed, and *la Chapelle Marteau* put in *Pereuse's* place. Most of the colonels, and captains of the quarters were changed. The *sieur d'Autruy-Segulier*, the *Lieutenant Civil*, was obliged to depart *Paris*, and *la Bruyere*, the *Lieutenant Particulier*, continued at the head of the *Chatelet*, and *maitre de la Police*. The doctors, and preachers of the faction, ingrossed all the authority in the faculty of theology; and by these means the duke of *Guise* secured to himself the sovereign power in *Paris*.

He took care also, not to suffer his credit to be weakened in the provinces, and sent a manifesto thither to justify his conduct: The king did the same on his side. These apologies, and different relations of what had passed, produced different effects, according to the different dispositions of people's minds, and according as the leaguers were more or less strong in the cities.

Thus the provinces beginning already to move, a new civil war was upon the point of breaking out between the catholicks themselves, which was very much forwarded by the division of the nobility, and because several lords, and gentlemen, repaired to the king to *Chartres*, and others went to *Paris*, to offer their services to the duke of *Guise*. But notwithstanding all things seemed to conspire to a war, both sides took such steps as appeared sufficient to bring about a peace, and the queen mother was constantly negotiating at *Paris* with the duke of *Guise*.

As

A. D.

1589.

As the high preferment of the favourites, and especially of the duke *d' Epernon*, was one of the motives of the duke of *Guise's* jealousy, and that which was of most use to him, in rendring the government odious to the people, the king resolved to remove this lord from court, and some days after, perswaded him to consent to lay down his government of *Normandy*, which was given to duke *Francis* of *Montpensier*, son of *Lewis* duke of *Montpensier* deceased five or six years before; but that the duke *d' Epernon* might go off with some shew of honour, he was sent to command in *Angoumois*, and *Xaintonge*.

On the other hand, the *Parisians*, ashamed of their fault, or at least making a shew of repentance, sent a deputation to the king, to ask pardon, by a petition: The parliament, most of the members of which were faithful to the king, sent a particular deputation, to intreat him to return to *Paris*, and restore tranquillity there, assuring him, that they would use all their authority to reclaim the people to their obedience, and due submission, to his majesty. The king received the deputies of the parliament very favourably, and appeared less displeased than he really was, with the petition of the *Parisians*, upon the account of certain terms which they had inserted in it, and which had touch'd him very sensibly.

During the duke of *Guise's* negotiations with the queen mother, the king, either because he did not think himself conveniently seated at *Chartres*, or to make the *Parisians* sensible of the injury his distant situation would be to them, set out with his court, and the troops that he had assembled, to go and reside at *Roan*, where he every day received an account of what was done at *Paris*, and waited the issue of it there for near a month.

Nothing was more advantageous to the king of *Navarre*, than these divisions of the catholick party; for if, after the intire ruin of the foreign army, the duke of *Guise* had joined the king, and marched into *Poitou*, and *Guyenne*, with all the catholick troops, according to the proposal that was made before the barricadoes, the hugonots would have been crush'd.

But if these divisions prevented the ruin of the hugonots, their forces were so small, that they could
not

not make any great progress. The king of Navarre seiz'd some little towns, and fortified some passages in *Bearn*, as well on the side of *France* as of *Spain*, and being afterwards obliged to march into *Xaintonge*, where his presence was necessary, by reason of the prince of *Conde's* death, which happened a little before, he could not hinder *Laurens* from taking *Marans*, a small town taken and re-taken exceedingly often during the civil wars, because it was of great importance to cover *Rockelle*; but the king of *Navarre* recovered it again from the catholicks some time after.

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Cayer. T. 3.

D' Aubigné
T. 3. l. 2.
c. 1, 2.

Nothing more memorable passed in *Dauphiny*, and the marshal *de Montmorency* continued very quiet in his government of *Languedoc*, waiting for the turn that affairs should take, and what the queen mother's negotiations for peace, with the duke of *Guise*, would come to; which at last was concluded, and most of the articles were agreeable to those of the treaty of *Nemours*.

By this peace, the king re-united himself with the leaguers, in order to carry on the war against the hugonots with the utmost vigour, till they had utterly exterminated them out of *France*. He left the league the towns of security which he had granted them, and added some others to them. Almost every thing that he did, upon this occasion, tended to the diminution of his authority, and to augment that of the heads of the league. There was scarcely more than one article that was of any real advantage to him, and that was the surrendring the *Bastile* up into his power, which was never executed. He sign'd this treaty at *Roan*, and having caused *Te Deum* to be sung in the cathedral, for a peace so disadvantageous and dishonourable to the royal majesty, he return'd to *Chartres*, and refused to comply with any instances to proceed to *Paris*. He pretended to ground this refusal upon the preparations that he was to make, and the orders that he was to give, for the assembling the states at *Blois* in the beginning of *September*, to which he would be much nearer at *Chartres* than at *Paris*.

Cayer. T. 1.

As soon as he arrived at *Chartres*, the queen mother, the young queen, the cardinal *de Bourbon* the dukes of *Guise*, and *Nemours*, went to welcome him there.

A. D. there. He received the cardinal *de Bourbon*, and
 1588. the duke of *Guise*, with all the most tender marks of a
 sincere and hearty affection, heaped new benefits upon
 them, and declared the cardinal first prince of the
 blood, and presumptive heir of the crown, by letters
 patents. * He gave the duke the whole authority
 of lieutenant general of the state for the armies, and,
 together with the title, almost all the prerogatives of
 constable of *France*. The duke *de Nemours*, and se-
 veral others of the most considerable leaguers, received
 various favours from him; nay, he was as profuse
 towards them, as the leaguers had reproached him
 for being towards his favourites. At length com-
 missions were dispatch'd for the two armies that were
 to be form'd. This first was to be sent into *Dauphiny*,
 under the duke *de Mayenne*, and the other was to act
 in *Poitou*. This duke obtained all the regiments and
 companies of gendarmes that he desired, after
 which the king set forward for *Blois*, where the
 estates were to meet, and was followed thither by the
 duke of *Guise*.

* Dates du
 17. d'Aout,
 1588.

It was matter of surprize, that he no sooner ar-
 rived there, than he made an alteration in his council,
 which could have never been expected. The chancel-
 lor *de Chiverni*, the sieurs *de Bellievre*, superinten-
 dant of the finances, *Brulart*, *Villeroy*, and *Pinart*,
 secretaries of state, who 'till then had the whole ma-
 nagement of affairs, had orders to leave the court,
 and return home. *Ruze*, and *Revol*, came in the
 room of the two last; and *Montholon*, a famous
 advocate of the parliament of *Paris*, who thought of
 nothing less, and whom the king had never seen,
 was made keeper of the seals in the place of the chan-
 cellor, upon the sole reputation of being a good man,
 a man of honour, and great integrity, and, besides,
 well-born. The queen mother's credit sunk very
 much, and from that moment the king put only an
 appearing confidence in this princess.

Of all the causes to which each person ascribed this
 sudden revolution, the only true one seems to me to be
 the shame and concern with which the king was affect-
 ed for all that had passed at *Paris*, and to see himself
 yet constrained to submit to the duke of *Guise*;
 that being unable to think of the dishonourable treaty
 he

he had sign'd at *Roan* without indignation, he was resolved to revenge himself of all that had had any share in it, and to execute this in a yet more terrible manner upon the heads of the league, as soon as he was in a condition to attempt it, if they did not sincerely return to their duty. He seems to have determined not to advise, for the future, with any other persons, but such as had always persuaded him to act stedfastly, and with courage. Of this number were the marshal d' *Aumont*, the sieurs de *Rombouillet*, *Alphonfus d'Ornano*, and some others, whom he knew besides to have no correspondence with the duke of *Guise*.

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Matters being thus ordered, after having seen all the principal deputies in private, who assured him of their entire devotion to his pleasure, some sincerely, others, and the greatest part, with intentions altogether contrary to the compliments they made him, he opened the states.

After a general procession, and many other preliminary ceremonies, the first session was held on the sixteenth of *October*, and every one placed himself according to the direction of the master of the ceremonies.

The king made a speech with that eloquence and grace that was natural to him, and spoke with much courage. The three orders answered by their speakers, and thanked the king for the honour he had done them in calling them together, in order to communicate to them his good intentions for the welfare of the kingdom, and religion, which they were ready to contribute to, and to sacrifice even their lives for it.

In the second session, which was held very soon after the first, the king, and the estates, took an oath to observe the edict of re-union, as a fundamental law of the kingdom. In the interval, between this and the third session, which was held on *All-Saints* day, they received the news of the taking of *Carmagnole*, and other attempts of the duke of *Savoy*, upon the marquisate of *Saluces*.

The king, for very good reasons, believed that the duke of *Guise* was in league with the duke of *Savoy*; and it was agreed, that from that moment the king should resolve upon the death of the duke of *Guise*:

A. D. agreeably to which, after the duke's death, one of the
 1588. principal reasons, which the king urged in justification
 of his conduct towards him, was his entering into a
 conspiracy with the duke of *Savoy*.

Several other matters, which passed afterwards in the
 states, several captious proposals made by the leaguers,
 which were so many traps laid for the king, and the
 accepting or refusing of which, equally tended to
 make him odious, and raise the credit of the duke of
Guise; several advices which the king received, not
 only from such as were in truth well affected to him,
 but also from princes of the house of *Guise*, in relation
 to the duke's designs, all whose rash enterprizes they
 could not relish, in which, if he fell, they foresaw
 their own ruine; all these reasons put together, deter-
 mined this timorous and irresolute prince to exert him-
 self at last, and destroy the duke of *Guise*.

Thuanus,
 l. 93.

The persons whom the king advised with up-
 on this important affair, were the mareschal d' *Au-*
mont, *Nicholas d' Angennes*, sieur de *Rambouillet*,
Lewis d' Angennes his brother, and *Beauvais Nangis*.
 He laid before them the particulars of the duke of
Guise's conduct. They were apprized of most that
 he said, but he discovered some things to them, which
 till then he had kept secret. He desired them to give
 him their opinions with all freedom, being satisfied of
 their prudence, courage, and affection for the state,
 and his own person.

Whether the mareschal d' *Aumont* did not care to
 pass for the author of the duke of *Guise's* death, or
 whether he was apprehensive of the consequences of it,
 or was unwilling to be the first in pronouncing this
 bloody decree, or discovered some remains of scruple in
 the king's discourse, he proposed only to seize him,
 and all those of his family that were at *Blois*, and that
 the king should proceed against them in form of law.

So many reasons offer'd themselves against this opi-
 nion, that none of the rest followed it, and the ma-
 reschal himself did not persist in maintaining of it:
 The impossibility of seizing the duke in sight of the
 estates, most of the members of which were his friends,
 and of an infinite number of people attached to his
 family, to his person, and fortune; the difficulty of
 finding a prison, wherein he might be secured, that of
 carrying

carrying him thither, of finding judges, whose equity and courage might be proof against solicitations, offers, and menaces; of preventing the revolt of the armies, in which were several officers, both general and subaltern, intirely devoted to the duke of *Guise*, especially in that of *Dauphiny*, of which his brother, the duke of *Mayenne*, was master. For all these reasons, and several others, that were alledged, they all concluded upon the death of the duke of *Guise*.

This resolution being taken, they consider'd upon what method was proper for the execution of it with success. It was no easy matter to compass it, because the duke of *Guise* was always well attended with guards, gentlemen, and domesticks, all persons of great abilities, and trust. This then was the method they pitch'd upon:

To go from the castle stairs to the king's chamber, it was necessary to pass through an anti-chamber, where this prince usually eat when he dined or supped in publick: It was open to all the world, excepting when a council was held there; for then the king's guards kept the door, and all the pages, and other domesticks of those that were in council, stood upon the stairs; the duke of *Guise* left all his attendants there, as the rest did, and it was thought impossible to choose a more convenient time, and place, than that of the council, to surprize him.

It was necessary to have a man of prudence, and resolution, to preside in an action of this consequence. The king applied himself to *Crillon*, colonel of the regiment of guards. This gentleman answered frankly to the king's proposal, That his majesty knew how faithful and devoted he was to his person, but that the office of an executioner was very unsuitable to him; that if the point in question was to kill the duke of *Guise* sword in hand in a duel, he assured him, though he lost his life for it, he would not fail to obey, and that he might depend upon his promise. The king seemed no ways offended at the liberty he had taken, and having recommended the affair to him as a secret, which *Crillon* swore to conceal, he applied himself to *Loignac*, first gentleman of his chamber, and captain of forty-five *Gascon* gentlemen, of whom the duke of *Epernon* had some time before made the king a new guard.

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Loignac was not so scrupulous as *Crillon*: He accepted the commission the more readily, because the duke of *Guise*, finding him very acceptable to the king, could not endure him; because he had raised several malicious quarrels against him to destroy him, and under pretence of abridging the expences of the king's house, endeavour'd to procure a petition from the states to remove the guard of Forty-five, as they were called.

The king communicated the affair also to *Larchant*, one of the captains of the guards; charged him to secure the stairs of the castle, as soon as those who were to assist in council were in the chamber, and agreed with him upon the manner in which it should be executed.

The measures were taken for the twenty-third of *December*. The king sent the duke of *Guise* word, That he would hold a council on that day in the morning, and dispatch a great many affairs, in order to go and spend the holy-days at *Notre-dame de Cleri*, where he design'd to perform his devotions.

On the evening of the twenty-second, *Larchant* went to wait upon the duke of *Guise*, and told him, That being pressed by the officers and guards of his company, he was come to intreat him to make use of his authority to get them their pay, of which they had received nothing for a long time; that without this, the guards, for the most part, would be obliged to go off, and several of them forced to sell their horses, to have wherewithal to travel a foot; and upon the duke's promising him to do what he had desired of him, he begg'd him to permit him to present him a petition when he entered into council.

Thuanus,
l. 93.

The next day early in the morning, the king sent for *Ornano*, *Bonnivet*, *la Grange-Montigni*, and *d'Entragues*, who, some time before, had left the duke of *Guise*, and submitted himself to the king, at the price of the government of *Orleans*, into his closet. *Entragues* was very much exasperated against the duke, who insisting upon this place as one of the cities of security that was granted to him, hinder'd him from taking possession of that government. *Loignac*, in like manner, came thither with nine of the most resolute of the forty-five, who were introduced before day by a private stair-case, and whom this lord then acquainted with the matter they were upon.

As

As soon as they were all met, the king told them in a few words what service he expected from their courage and fidelity ; that this day either he or the duke of *Guise* must perish ; that he had none but them to defend his person, no other refuge but his closet ; that his own safety and that of *France*, which was going to be shared with strangers, was in their hands ; that he had cast his eyes upon them to owe his life and his crown to them, and that they might depend upon it, his gratitude to them should be stinted by no bounds.

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They all assured him of their readiness to sacrifice themselves for his majesty, and that they would act answerably to the trust with which he had honoured them. He sent for as many daggers, as *Loignac* had chosen men out of his company, and told them at delivering them into their hands ; This is an execution of justice, which I commit to you, upon the most criminal person in my kingdom, whom I have a right, both by the laws of God and man, to punish ; and since it can't be done by the ordinary methods of justice, I authorize you to do it by the right that my royal power gives me.

He placed them, together with *Loignac*, at the door of a closet, which was upon the left hand of the entrance into the chamber, to wait there for the duke of *Guise*, and retired to another at a farther distance, followed by the lords above-mentioned.

If the duke of *Guise* did not escape this danger, it was not for want of having notice of it ; for whatever precautions the king took to conceal his design, it was mistrusted by several, who either judged that the king would at last pursue the methods that his interest required, or being attentive to all that passed, made some imperfect discovery and conjecture, that gave them this thought.

The sieur *de Vins*, head of the league in *Provence*, wrote to the duke, expressing his dislike of the too great confidence he put in the king, whom he had so much reason to suspect, notwithstanding the fair countenance he shew'd towards him ; to which he answered, That he laid no stress upon the king's goodness, whose dissimulation he was very sensible of ; but upon the fear and good sense of this prince, who knew that if he

Le Labou-
reur, addi-
ons aux Me-
moires de
Castelnau, l.
7. c. 4.

A. D. 1587. made an attempt upon his person, he would irrecoverably destroy himself.

Depositions de l'Archeveque de Lyon au s. T. de l'Histoire des Cardinaux.
After all, he could not forbear sometimes to reflect upon this subject with his confidants; and a few days before his misfortune, as he was discoursing with the cardinal *de Guise* his brother, the archbishop of *Lyons*, the sieur *de Mandreville*, governor of *Sainte-Menehould*, the president *de Neuilly*, and *la Chapelle-Marteau*, *prevot des marchands*, every one proposing his conjectures upon some imaginary appearances, which induced them to think that a plot was carrying on, they all advised him to make some pretence for withdrawing himself. The archbishop of *Lyons* was the only person, who maintained, that this would be a quitting of the party, and consequently the ruin of it; and that the king, considering what disposition he was of, would never undertake so hazardous an enterprize, in which he would run the risk of his own life: *Mandreville* firing upon this, charg'd his reasoning with weakness and folly, considering the conjuncture, when every thing was at stake.

Thuanus. l. 93.
But the duke of *Guise* made no other answer to all this, than that he was too far advanced to go back, and that the king and he were like two armies facing each other. whereof, if the one retreated, the other must have the victory.

Mathieu, l. 3.
The day preceding the execution, sitting down at table, he found a note under his napkin, advising him to take care of himself, and telling him that some treacherous design was carrying on against him. Having read it, he took his pencil, and wrote underneath; *They dare not*, and threw it under the table. Thus this unhappy prince, govern'd by his ambition, and shutting his eyes to all dangers, or too much despising them, ran obstinately to his own destruction, 'till at length the fatal moment arrived.

On the twenty-third of *December*, those that were of the council, appeared very early in the morning, according to the king's order, in the antichamber. The cardinals *de Vendome* and *de Gondi*, the mareschals *d'Aumont* and *de Retz*, the sieurs *Nicolas de Rambouillet* and *d'O* came first, and soon after the cardinal *de Guise* and the archbishop of *Lyons*.

The duke of *Guise* arrived last, and met *Larchant*, as he came out of his apartment, with most of his company of guards, ready to present the petition, which he had spoken to him about the evening before. They followed him to the door of the antichamber, the guards being ranged on both sides the stairs, according to the order they had received from their captain, to pay, as it were, a piece of honour to the duke of *Guise*, and make way for him. The duke, with his usual courtesy and good manners, promised them that he would not forget them, and enter'd the antichamber. *Larchant* continued upon the stairs with the guards ranged as before, and caused the pages, footmen and other attendants of the duke and the rest of the lords, that were entred in, to go down into the court.

About eight o'clock in the morning, *Revol* secretary of state, came to tell the duke of *Guise*, that the king wanted him in his closet. He went thither, and enter'd the chamber by a short gallery, that separated it from the antichamber. The door being immediately shut, as the custom was, he turned to go to the closet, which lay upon the left, where they told him the king was. Having lifted up the hangings, and stooping a little, because the door was low, he immediately received six stabs, which left him no more time than to cry; *Lord, have mercy upon me!*

Cayet. T. 1.
Thuanus, l.
D'Avila, l. 9.

Others say, that *Sainte Malin*, one of the forty-five, gave him the first stab, and that for fear he should be armed under his cloaths, he had placed himself in such an advanced situation, as to be able to stick him in the throat, at the extremity of the armour; and that the duke fetched only one deep groan, without saying a word; that all the rest fell upon him at the same time, and stabb'd him in a great many places.

There are some accounts, which say, that the duke having observed *Loignac* seated upon a chest, and judging by his countenance, that he had some ill design upon his person, laid his hand upon his sword, and marched directly up to him; but that having his arm encumber'd with his cloak, and being prevented by the stabs he received, he was able to draw it but half out.

Which

A. D. 1588. Which ever of these different circumstances were true (for we often meet with mistakes in such cases)

it is certain that the affair was over in a moment. The king having notice of it, went out of his closet, and having order'd a carpet to be thrown over the body, returned to wait the execution of the other orders that he had given.

The noise that was made during this massacre, was heard in the antichamber; upon which the cardinal *de Guise*, with the arch-bishop of *Lyons*, ran out immediately, and, as it is said, heard the last groan of the expiring duke: But the *Scotch* guards *du corps*, that were at the door, presenting the points of their halberts against them, hinder'd them from coming forward.

They were seized themselves, and by the king's order carried up into a chamber of the castle, where they were lock'd in.

Larchant, with his regiment of guards, took possession of the antichamber, and presently after, the king's chamber-door being open'd, and all the lords that were there being enter'd, the king told them, addressing himself in particular to the cardinal *de Vendome*.

"I am now king, and resolved to make war upon the
"hereticks, but with more vigour than ever; the
"faction that hinder'd me, though religion was always
"in their mouths, being no longer in a condition to
"prevent my designs. And as for those who are like
"them, or adherents of them, let them learn by the
"example that I have just made, that the same ven-
"geance hangs over their heads, if they dare to make
"any attempt upon my authority.

Having spoken these few words with an authoritative air, which had been very unusual with him for a long time, and which cast a terror upon the minds of all the partisans of the league that were there, he went down the stairs into the queen mother's lodgings, who was lying ill.

He gave her an account of all that had happen'd: And it is said, that, without blaming or approving what he had done, or appearing much moved, she only asked him, Whether he had consider'd the consequences of the duke of *Guise's* death, and made provision for all events? Yes, madam, says he, I have given good orders,



• Imprimee
au S. T. de
l'Hist. des
Cardinaux.

orders. I hope so, replies she, and that every thing will turn to your advantage. This is the account, which most of our historians give us of this discourse, which supposes that the whole was transacted without the queen mother's knowledge. And yet *Miron*, the king's chief physician, in his relation * of the duke of *Guise's* death, speaks of it as of an affair concerted with that princess; so difficult it is to discover exactly the truth of that which is transacted in the cabinet of kings.

In the mean time, the dukes *d'Elbeuf* and *de Nemours*, *Anne d'Est*, mother of the latter, and of the duke of *Guise*, the cardinal *de Bourbon* and the prince *de Joinville*, were made prisoners in the castle, and guards placed at the entrance into their apartments. And at the same time *Francis du Plessis de Richelieu*, grand *prevot de l'Hotel*, marching out of the castle with his archers, seized the president *de Neuilly*, *la Chapelle-Marteau*, *Compan* and *Cotteblanche*, deputies of the city of *Paris*, and *Vincent le Roy*, lieutenant general of *Amiens*, who were the most desperate leaguers of the third estate. *Urban de Laval-Blois-Dauphin*, and the count *de Brissac*, were also put under an arrest in their own houses. *Pericard*, the duke of *Guise's* secretary, was taken with all his papers; but they made search in vain for the bishops of *Cominges*, *Rodez* and *Boulcogne*, and some others, who hid themselves, or made their escape during the tumult.

Urbain de
Lanfac,
Francis Cor-
nillon.
Peter Dormi-

It was very certain, that, if the king had stop'd there, *Sixtus V.* would not only not have blamed him for the duke of *Guise's* death, but, considering his humour, he would scarce have forborne praising him for it. The words of this pope above related, upon occasion of the king's letting the duke of *Guise* go out of the *Louvre*, when he had rashly put himself into his hands, before the barricadoes, are a convincing proof of it; but the king caused the cardinal *de Guise* to be slain the next day, which spoiled his affairs at the court of *Rome*, a court that he ought in prudence to have soothed more than ever, considering the situation he was then in.

Such was the tragical end of the duke and cardinal of *Guise*. The first indeed deserved it by his boundless ambition, by his revolt, and the ill designs he had formed against his sovereign, which were upon the point of breaking out; But excepting this, he was one

of

A. D. of the greatest men that had, for a long time, appeared
1588. in France, in whom were most compleatly assembled all
the qualities that form an hero.

The most important affair for the king, after the death of the two brothers, was to get the third into his power; I mean the duke *de Mayenne*, who was constantly at *Lyons*, without making any great use of the army which he commanded there; but he escaped him by the expedition of an express from *Mendoza*, the Spanish ambassador at the French court, who arrived at *Lyons* before *Alphonfus d'Ornano*, whom the king had sent post thither to seize that duke.

The king was disappointed also in his design of taking *Orleans*, by the revolt of the leaguers, the success of which was an example of very ill consequence, to several other considerable towns in the kingdom.

In the mean time, matters seemed to be very much calm'd at *Blois* and in the estates. The king set *Bois-Dauphin* and *Brissac* at liberty. He granted the archbishop of *Lyons*, and all the other prisoners, their lives, and the sessions were continued: But the loss which, during these transactions, he sustained of the most capable person in the world to give him wholesome advice in so nice a conjuncture, was a presage of the great misfortunes which threatned him, and possibly the cause of his sinking under them.

This was the death of the queen his mother, which happen'd at the castle of *Blois* on the fifth of *January*, in the seventieth year of her age. The accounts of those times that have come down to us, some of which are written in favour of this princess, and others to her disadvantage, make it a question, even to this day, whether the praises or the reproaches they have bestowed upon her, are more to be credited.

All, however, are agreed, that she had a great capacity for government, a rare and unusual talent for the greatest affairs, a polish'd, eloquent and magnificent mind, and that all these great qualities were supported with such an air of majesty, as attracted the veneration of all that came near her, and gave her an ascendant in council, to which they found themselves, in a manner, forced to yield. Her manners seem to be the only point in question, whether the maxims of religion had the greatest share in her conduct, or were overborne by politick

politick views? a question as difficult to decide, as it is to penetrate the secret intentions of princes, especially when it is usual for them to affect a disguise rather in this than any other matter. Be that as it will, I have always thought it an equal breach of equity, and of that respect which is due to the memory of princes, to convey them down to posterity, with the character of execrable persons, upon the force of equivocal marks, and of such actions as we know not the springs and motives of, and which might have been founded upon lawful views. This is an injustice, of which several have been guilty to the princess I am speaking of, who, when all things are rightly considered, and without running her character to extremes, ought to pass for one of the most accomplish'd persons of her sex, that ever sat upon the throne of *France*.

At her death she conquered the hatred which she had always bore to the king of *Navarre*, and advised the king to engage both him and the other princes of the blood to him by kind usage and regards, and to grant a liberty of conscience for the good of the state. The turn which affairs took soon after, obliged the king to follow her advice.

After some sessions he dissolved the states of *Blois*, and recommended to the deputies to use all their credit and authority in the towns and provinces, to contain the people in their duty and submission, who all promised to comply with his request, but very few kept their words.

The death of the duke of *Guise* was doubtless a terrible blow to the league, who, by that means, had lost their head; but it was necessary to give them no time to recover their breath. The first thing that was to be done, was for the king to march up to the capital, with the troops which he had with him, and the army, that was commanded by the duke of *Nevers*, as monsieur de *Rombouillet* advised him: But he put it off too long; and the partisans of the league, who were every where in great confusion, having had time to look about them, took courage, and bestir'd themselves more than ever, as soon as they heard of the commotions, which the news of the duke of *Guise*'s death had raised in *Paris*, without the king's proceeding to any measures for suppressing them.

Matters

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Matters were carried to a most terrible excess. The faction of sixteen stirr'd up the whole populace to a rebellion, and the fury of the faction was back'd from the pulpit by the bitterest invectives, and reproaches, upon the king. They tore his picture in pieces, and published a thousand satyrs against his royal person with impunity; and to cloath these wicked attempts with authority, and remove the scruples of a great many persons, who were filled with horror at them, it was resolved, in the council of sixteen, to propose this case of conscience, in the name of the *Prevot des Marchands*, the *Echevins*, and all the catholicks of *Paris*, to the faculty of theology, viz. Whether the people of *France* might not take up arms, join together, raise money, and contribute to the defense of the catholick religion, against a prince, who had violated the publick faith in the states? and whether this infringement did not discharge the oath of fidelity which they had sworn to him. The case was proposed, and decided by the faculty, agreeably to the intentions of the sixteen.

After this decision, it was not only not allowed to give the prince any longer the name of king, but the confessors also taught their penitents to be afraid of acknowledging him as such. The priests at mass did no more mention him in the *Memento*, nor in the other public prayers, and he was look'd upon as an excommunicated person, as forsworn, as a heretick, and the most detestable of mankind, nay, as a very magician. All these matters are particularly related in the memoirs of those times.

The king's person being thus abused, all such as seemed to have still some regard left for him, were to expect the basest treatment. For the same reason the parliament was insulted in an unprecedented and unexampled manner.

Bussy-le-Clerc, formerly procureur in parliament, and made governor of the *Bastile* by the duke of *Guise*, went armed to the *Palais*, at the same time that the courts of justice assembled to consider upon sending a deputation to the king, and required them to declare, That pursuant to the decree of the faculty of *Paris*, the *French* were free from the oath of fidelity and obedience to the king, and that their acts should no longer

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run

run in his name, upon which he retir'd to give them time to deliberate upon the demand.

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But returning immediately after with his whole troop, pistol in hand, he said, That it was impossible they should need any deliberation upon so just a request, unless there were some persons among them that would betray the city; that he knew who they were, and that without waiting any longer, those whom he was going to name had nothing to do but to follow him. He began to read over the list, at the head of which were the first president, and the presidents *Potier* and *de Thou*; upon which all the presidents rose up, and told him, That there was no need of calling over a long list, for that they would all follow monsieur the first president, their head, whithersoever they carried him.

The court consisted of above fifty or sixty presidents, and counsellors: *Buffy-le-Clerc* put himself at their head, and having caused them to be surrounded by his soldiers, led them to the *Bastile*, being all in their gowns, and square caps.

When they came to the *Bastile*, *Buffy* caused all those that were not in the list to depart, and the rest were imprisoned in the *Bastile*, upon which they composed a kind of new parliament. The president *Brissot* was forced to put himself at the head of it, and the sieur *de Mole*, counsellor of the court, to accept the office of procureur general. *John le Maître*, and *Lewis d'Orleans*, advocates in parliament, were chosen advocates general, and the next day the causes were pleaded as usual.

Some days after, the request presented by *Buffy-le-Clerc* passed, and one hundred and twenty-six presidents and counsellors, princes of the house of *Guise*, and prelates, swore, upon the crucifix, never to depart from the league, and to pursue the death of the duke and cardinal of *Guise* with vengeance, against all those who had either been the authors of it, or accomplices in it.

The duke *d'Aumale*, who had been made governor of *Paris*, had a council granted him of forty persons, chosen out of the three orders of the kingdom. After the new oath taken in parliament, the tumults and violent proceedings against those, whom they called

A. D. 1589. called *Royaux*, increased continually, till the arrival of the duke *de Mayenne*, who was in no great haste to come to *Paris*, till such time as he perceived what course affairs were likely to take.

His first care, after his departure from *Lyons*, where *Ornano* had missed of seizing him, was to secure his government of *Burgundy*, and all the principal towns of that province.

This prince was of a character, which on one hand gave the king hopes of reclaiming him, and on the other, if he fail'd of success, a great deal of concern, upon account of the advantage, which the conduct of such a head wou'd be to the league.

He had neither so much ambition, nor vigour, nor impetuosity, as his brother the duke of *Guise*. Valiant as he was, his moderation and prudence were superior to his valour. Few officers, in *Europe*, were of equal abilities with him, for the conduct of an army, or the carrying on of a siege; he was much esteemed for his integrity, and more depended on than the duke of *Guise*. The king wrote to him, to pacify him upon the death of his brothers, and made him the most advantageous offers, provided that he would contribute, by his authority, to the tranquillity of the state: But his grief, and his honour, which he thought engaged to revenge the massacre of his two brothers, would not suffer him to give any ear to the proposals.

The letters which he received from the *Parisians*, who continually conjured him to come and head them; the revolt of *Orleans*, of the principal towns in *Picardy*, and especially of *Amiens*; and that of *Champagne*, where all the towns, excepting *Chalons*, set up the standard for the league; the contempt, and hatred, which the people every where expressed for the king, and this prince's incapacity, at that time, to suspend this general revolution; all these reasons determined the duke *de Mayenne*, to pursue the way which fortune opened to him, and to engage himself in a revolt, which, besides the motive of religion, was also colour'd over with the pretence of revenging the death of his brothers, and securing himself.

From *Dijon*, the capital of his government, whither he retired at first, he went to *Troye*, which had already declared for him. From thence he sent commissioners

to the officers that adhered to the league, to raise soldiers, and nominated *du Rosne*, and *S. Paul*, to command in *Champagne*.

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He pursued his road thro' *Orleans*, and went to *Chartres*, which the inhabitants, at the solicitation of the *Parisians*, delivered up to him; and, at last, after so many and such easy conquests, entred *Paris* with the acclamations of the people; and the most excessive testimonies of joy and affection; but being too wise to be dazled with the transports of a popular faction, he received all the honours they paid him with a great deal of modesty.

He was firmly resolved not to deliver himself over to the caprices of the faction of sixteen, who govern'd in the council of forty newly established to assist the duke *d' Aumale*: Upon this account he gave the members of that council, of which they immediately conferred upon him the title of head, and which was called, *The council of Union*: He gave them, I say, to understand, that this council ought to be, as it were, the Soul, that should give motion to all the kingdom, and therefore could not be too numerous; nor consist of too many persons of merit and authority. Upon which he associated a great number of persons of quality, and of the other principal bodies of the ecclesiastical and laical state; and it was ordered, That the deputies of the three orders of the provinces, when they were at *Paris*, all the bishops and princes of the association, should assist at it, when they thought proper.

In admitting so many persons of consideration, whom he attach'd to his interest by procuring them this honour, his chief aim was to keep the faction of sixteen within bounds, most of which were people of no condition or character, and to oppose to their resolutions, which were always violent, in debates the plurality of votes of so many prelates, lords, and magistrates, who were both more moderate, and better capable of entering into his views, for the advantage of the common cause.

One of the first acts of this assembly, was to name, and declare, the duke *de Mayenne* lieutenant general of the royal state and crown of France, a title which was confirm'd to him by the parliament, on the thirteenth

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of *March*, and which had never before been in use in the kingdom. They were not aware what authority this title of lieutenant conferr'd upon him, nor what was meant by the words *Royal Estate*; but that did not hinder the duke *de Mayenne* from being clothed with a kind of sovereign power by virtue of that title, which it was not long before he exercised. He made several regulations of the *Police*, either for the city of *Paris*, or for the whole kingdom, or for the finances, or the nomination to benefices; and all was to be dispatch'd, under seal, by the council of Union. It was resolved also, that the estates should be assembled on the fifteenth of *July* 1589.

The duke acted the more boldly, because he received every day accounts of risings in favour of the league, in all parts of the kingdom, where most of the principal towns, and a great number of others, successively increased the party.

The mischief spreading daily, and becoming almost universal, the king found himself reduced to amazing extremities, being equally hated by the catholicks and hugonots. It was necessary for him to resolve upon something, and being fully persuaded that the king of *Navarre* would receive him with open arms, both by inclination, and for interest, he entred upon a treaty with him, and they joined together against the catholick rebels.

The king was followed by all the princes of the blood, by the cardinal *de Lenoncourt*, and a great number of lords and gentlemen. The duke *d'Epervon* came to join him with four thousand men, while *Nicholas de Harlay, Sieur de Sanci*, went to ask succours of the *Swiss*. The king had always with him, his regiment of *French* guards, and the *Swiss* of *Galati*, and was also followed by several lords and gentlemen, so that he did not meet the king of *Navarre* by himself, but was able to treat with him as a king.

Before his departure from *Blois*, where he had constantly remained, he published an edict, by which he declared, that he remov'd the parliament, and court of *Exchequer*, from *Paris* to *Tours*. He sent the cardinal *de Bourbon* to the castle of *Chinon*, under a strong guard; the duke *d'Elbeuf* to the castle of *Loches*.

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and the young duke of *Guise* to *Tours*. He himself also set out for that city, from whence he began the treaty with the king of *Navarre*, by the interpolation of the dutchess of *Angoulême*; but the whole affair was carried on afterwards, to the very conclusion of it, by *Dupleffis Mornay*, who had the government of *Saumur* in return for it.

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Memoires de
Dupleffis
Mornay, T. I.

The two kings met at *Plessis les Tours*, on the thirtieth of *April*, and behaved with all possible sincerity and candor to each other.

The king, before he had gone these lengths, had used all his efforts at *Rome*, to obtain the pope's absolution for the massacre of the cardinal *de Guise*: For, as I have observed already, if he had only cut off the duke, the pope would not have made so great a stir about it. The cardinal *de Joyeuse*, protector of *France*, and the marquis *de Pisani*, solicited in vain for the king. The cardinal *de Pelleve*, several emissaries of the league, and the ambassador of *Spain*, broke their measures, at every foot, by their intrigues; and the pope appeared always inflexible. But the news of this prince's union with the king of *Navarre*, being carried to *Rome* served the agents of the league for a pretence to render all the ill intentions, which they ascribed to the king against religion, plausible; to confirm all the calumnies with which they loaded him at *Rome*, and more particularly, to give a probable appearance to that, by which they had always laboured to persuade the pope, that he had been ever favourable to the hugonots, and averse to the catholicks. *Sixtus V.* had never believ'd it, and in all appearance he did not yet give an intire credit to it: But he saw the completion of what he had some years before foretold, viz. That the heads of the league, whose conduct he very much disapproved of, would, by their extravagant zeal, and intrigues, against the king, at last force him to throw himself into the arms of the hugonots.

In the mean time both sides gained some conquests. The king of *Navarre* had surprized *Niort* the day before the duke of *Guise's* death; *Maillesais*, and *Pont-Saint-Maixant*, had opened their gates to him. He had afterwards advanced to the *Loire*, and *Lou-*
zun, *Mirebeau*, *Lisle-Bouchard*, *Chastelleraut*, *Vivone*,

A. D. and some other places, had submitted to him, as well
1589. as the castle of *Argenton* in *Berry*.

Some time after the duke of *Guise's* death, the scene of the war was changed. 'Till then the provinces on the other side the *Loire*, and the countries bordering upon the *Alps*, had been the most bloody, but now they enjoyed the greatest calm. As soon as the truce between the king of *Navarre*, and the king, was concluded, *Alphonfus d'Ornano* struck up a league with *Lesdiguières* in *Dauphiny*. The marshal de *Montmorency* kept *Languedoc* also in peace. The catholicks and hugonots, in consequence of the treaty of *Tours*, agreed very well together in *Gascogne*, *Bearn*, *Poitou*, and *Xaintonge*.

On the contrary, *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Champagne*, which, before the duke of *Guise's* death, were in no great agitation, began to be much imbroiled now, especially *Normandy*, the towns of which were very much divided, some holding out for the king, and others for the league. *Roan*, *Falaise*, *Lisieux*, *Argentan*, and all the towns which had bridges upon the *Seine*, excepting the *Pont de l'Arche*, had join'd in the revolt.

Caen, *Exreux*, *saint Lo*, *Alençon*, *Dieppe*, and some others, continued loyal. The duke de *Montpensier* defeated a great body of peasants, which had made an insurrection in favour of the league: Three thousand of them were slain upon the spot, and twelve hundred taken prisoners, among whom were thirty gentlemen, the leaders of the enterprize.

On the other hand, the duke de *Mayenne* put himself at the head of an army of the league, which drew together in *Beaufse*, took *Chateaudun*, and *Vendôme*, and surprized and defeated *Charles* of *Luxembourg* count de *Brienne*, near *Amboise*. He was disappointed in his designs upon *Chateau-Renaud*, and raised the siege of it upon the news of the king of *Navarre's* approach: But he concealed his principal design, which was to go to *Tours*, where he kept a correspondence, and to carry off the king. For this purpose he marched twelve leagues, and had well nigh carried his point, those that were to betray the king, having persuaded him to a walk on the other side the suburbs of *S. Symphorien*. The duke de *Mayenne*

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enne had placed some cavalry there in ambuscade, and the king had like to have fallen into their hands; but having received notice of it, he, with much difficulty, reached the suburbs, which the duke *de Mayenne* caused to be attack'd. The king immediately took all necessary precautions to prevent a revolt of the citizens, among whom were many leaguers. They engaged each other at the barrier of the *Fauxbourg*, and the brave *Crillon*, with *Rubempre*, and *Gerze*, wrought wonders upon that occasion; but the last was killed, and the two others dangerously wounded.

During this assault, a body of troops, belonging to the king of *Navarre*, who was himself not far off, was advertized of the king's danger. The duke *de la Trimouille*, the earls *de Chatillon*, and *de la Rochefoucault*, rode up with all speed, and ordered the troops to follow them. Upon their arrival the duke *de Mayenne* changed his resolution, and abandon'd the enterprize.

During these transactions, the two kings forces came up with each other, and determined to march to *Paris*, in order to oblige the duke *de Mayenne* to quit *Normandy*, whither he had turn'd his march. The prince *de Dombes* son of the duke *de Montpensier*, was sent into *Bretagne*, where the duke *de Mercœur* was posted at the head of the league, and where the capital of that province had returned to their obedience to the king.

During the march of the two kings to *Paris*, there happened two considerable actions. The king of *Navarre* had sent the earl *de Chatillon* with a small body of troops, in hopes of surprizing *Chartres*: But an unforeseen accident frustrated that design. The sieur *de Saveuse* governour of *Dourlens* passed through *la Beausse* at the same time, to go and join the duke *de Mayenne* at *Alençon*. He had with him the flower of the nobility of *Picardy*. The two parties met between *Bonneval* and *Chartres*, charged each other, and fought with such eagerness and obstinacy, as had rarely been seen in these civil wars. The two generals, as good officers as they were valiant soldiers, exerted all their bravery and capacity upon this occasion: They rallied several times with all the order and resolution imaginable; but at last *Chatillon* got the victory;

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six-score gentlemen of *Picardy* being killed, and forty taken prisoners. *Saveuse* was one of the latter, and died of his wounds, and the earl of *Chatillon* himself carried the news of the victory to the king at *Chatebraud*, with two cornets that he had taken.

This battle was fought on the eighteenth of *May*; but on the day before, a much more considerable engagement happened upon the frontiers of *Picardy* and the *Isle of France*.

Lewis de Montmorency-Bouteville of the royal party, had surprized *Senlis*, and left *William de Montmorency-Thore* his cousin, to command there with a great number of gentlemen, who was soon after besieged by the duke d'*Aumale* at the head of a very numerous army, and sustain'd the assault; but as the place was of no importance, and the breach large, he beat a parley the same day, and consented to surrender the town, if he did not receive a recruit before night. He knew well, that succours were raising at *Compeign*; but he knew also, that they were not very numerous, and he was afraid that they would not arrive in time. Indeed they consisted only of eight hundred horse and one thousand five hundred harquebusiers; but they were headed by a person, whose abilities and experience were sufficient to supply many defects.

This was the brave *la Noue*, who, as soon as he heard of the treaty between the king and the king of *Navarre*, had advanced with the troops, which he commanded in the estates of the heiress of *Bouillon*, to do the king service.

He came in sight of *Senlis* with his little troop, against which the duke d'*Aumale* march'd at the head of an army four times as large.

The duke de *Longueville*, a young and valiant prince, though he had a right to command the succours, both by his birth and station, as governor of *Picardy*, yet submitted the command to *la Noue*, out of the esteem that he had for him, and for the good of the state, and put himself under his orders at the head of a squadron.

La Noue ordered every thing with such wisdom, and made such advantage of some ill steps taken by the enemy, that he cut them in pieces. Eleven hundred foot and eight hundred horse fell upon the place on
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he side of the leaguers; several perished in the marshes below the pond of the abbey *Victoire*, and *Senlis* was saved. The two kings in their march took *Gien*, *la Charite*, *Gergeau*, *Pluviers*, and *Etampes*, where the baron *de S. Germain*, who defended this latter place, having been forced, was beheaded. *Poissi* was carried, and the royal army being reinforced there by the arrival of some nobility and some troops of soldiers from *Normandy* and *Picardy*; the two kings came and sat down before *Pontoise*, having under them the marshal *de Biron* and the duke *d'Espernon*.

It was necessary to besiege this town in form, which did not capitulate till after an attack of twelve hours. *Charles de Neuville d'Alincourt* son of the *sieur de Villeroy*, the governor of it, was wounded there. The duke *de Mayenne*, who was returned from *Paris*, appeared once during the siege, at the head of his army, making a shew of designing to succour the place, but durst not proceed to any attempt.

After this expedition, the king went to see the army of the *Swiss*, which was incamped a small distance from thence at *Conflans*, and which the *sieur de Sancy* had happily conducted thither. This army consisted of ten thousand *Swiss*, two thousand lansquenets, and one thousand five hundred reisters.

It is difficult to say which deserves most to be commended on this occasion, the *sieur de Sancy's* zeal for his prince, or his disinterestedness, or his abilities, or his valour. The point was, to raise an army of *Swiss* without money. This defect he supplied in part, by selling his jewels and much of his substance. He made use of certain conjunctures to surmount several difficulties which offered in this negotiation; he gain'd the republic of *Geneva*, by many successful expeditions, which he made against the duke of *Savoy*, with whom he caused them to enter into a war. He conducted this army through a vast extent of country, where, for the most part, the leaguers reigned; he avoided all the ambushes they laid for him, and at last arrived at *Conflans* with his army.

The king received *Sancy* at his arrival, with such marks of affection and acknowledgement, as tended very much to this lord's honour, and mingling tears with the most tender expressions, told him amidst his embraces,

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embraces, that he could not make a return equal to the service he had done him, but he would reward him in such a manner, as should exceed his expectations.

The royal army being joined with this reinforcement, found itself above thirty thousand strong, and those effective men, and well armed; and the two kings laying hold of the warmth which they expressed at that time, resolved to besiege *Paris*, notwithstanding the duke *de Mayenne* and his army were present in the city.

On the last day of *July*, the king having made himself master of *S. Cloud*, after some discharges of cannon, settled his quarters there. The king of *Navarre* did the same at *Meudon*, and the troops were dispersed in all the villages about *Paris*.

Upon these first motions of the king's army, the duke *de Mayenne* perceived plainly, that he was going to be besieged. He sent couriers to *Nancy* to the duke of *Lorraine*, and to *Lyons* to the duke *de Nemours*, to intreat them to come immediately to his assistance, and took all the precautions for the city, which could be expected from so great an officer, upon such an occasion.

After all, it is very likely *Paris* would have yielded, as soon as the avenues were block'd up, and that they would, in a short time, have been sensible of the want of provision, not to mention the correspondence which might have been managed with great ease in the town, this being much more customary in civil than other wars, and the motives of which would not only have been specious, but also very easily justified upon this occasion, where the question regarded their return to their obedience to their lawful sovereign. Thus the duke *de Mayenne*, notwithstanding all the measures he had taken, both within and without, could not, in all appearance, have long held out, if the fatal blow, by which the king lost his life, had not extricated him out of the danger to which he was exposed.

It was the day after that on which the army had begun to take up their quarters about *Paris*, that this detestable parricide was committed by *James Clement*, a young dominican friar, who had suffered himself to be transported to this frenzy, by the continual and

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horrid invectives of the preachers of *Paris* against the king, and by the abominable doctrine that was taught even in the pulpit, that it was lawful to deprive such a tyrant of his life, as the doctors of the league, upon all occasions, painted *Henry de Valois*.

He found means to come at the king, under pretence of credential letters, which he said he had brought from the first president *de Harlay*. This prince having read the credential letters, and the procureur general and monsieur *de Clermont*, who were the only persons in the closet, withdrawing to some distance, upon *Clement's* declaring that he had something to say in private, the wretch, at that moment, drew a knife out of his sleeve, and having plunged it into the king's belly, left it there. The king crying out, drew the knife himself out of the wound, and struck the assassin on the eye with it, who was immediately knock'd down, and stabb'd in several places by the guards that came running in at the noise, and thrown out at window.

The whole court was in a consternation, as may be easily imagined. The chirurgeons were immediately called to search the wound, which was four fingers below the navel on the right side, about the length of a finger from the middle of the belly. The gut, part of which came out at the passage, was not hurt; but the pain which the king felt in and about the wound, after it was dressed, a cold sweat which came upon him, and the alteration of his pulse, were bad symptoms.

However, such as they were, they took care not to publish them, but on the contrary, spread abroad a report, that the wound was not dangerous, and, according to that report, gave advice of it the same day to all the governors of the towns and provinces. The generals apprehending upon this occasion, some surprize from the *Parisians*, kept all their troops stirring; but none of the party came out of *Paris*, and they were only informed that the sixteen on that morning, had committed a great many persons that had relations in the king's army, to the prisons of *Paris*, their design being, as it was thought, to secure all these persons as so many hostages to save *Clement's* life, in case he had been seized only, and not killed.

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The king of *Navarre* being advertised of this fatal accident, ran from *Meudon*, and threw himself upon his knees at the king's bed-side, melting in tears, and without being able to speak a word. The king having caused him to rise, kissed him, and told him, That if God thought fit to take him, he left the crown of *France* to him as to his lawful successor; but that he would never possess it quietly, unless he return'd to the catholick religion, as he exhorted him to do, after which, having caused all the princes and lords to come to him, he commanded them, in case he should not recover of his wound, to acknowledge the king of *Navarre* for their lawful sovereign, and immediately to swear fidelity and obedience to him, which they did, bending the knee before that prince.

The king having ordered every body to withdraw, applied himself wholly to prepare for death. He had already made his confession to sieur *Stephen Boulogne* his chaplain, who, for the greater security, having enquired how he stood affected to the pope's monitory, the tenour of which is not exactly known, he answered, in these terms: *I am the first son of the catholick, apostolick and Roman church, and desire to dye so. I declare before God and you, that I neither had nor yet have any other inclination but to satisfy his holiness in every thing that he requires of me.* Upon which the chaplain gave him absolution.

About two a clock in the morning, the fever and his pains very much increasing, he desired the *Viaticum*, and received it after a fresh confession. He renewed the protestations that he had made, of desiring to dye in the faith of the catholick, apostolick and *Roman* church, pardon'd all his enemies, and particularly those, who had been the cause of his death; and reciting the psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*, with a very low voice, he expired before he could finish it, about four o'clock in the morning, on the second of *August*, at the age of thirty-eight years, ten months and thirteen days, having reigned fifteen years and two months. A prince adorned with very great qualities, even those which add the brightest lustre to the kingly majesty, and which he made an equally happy and glorious use of, before he came to be king of *France*; but they seemed to disappear afterwards.

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Beloved, esteemed and feared before, but hated and despised afterwards, as much as ever any prince was by his subjects; nor was there ever any person, to whom those words, which one of the ancients spoke of an emperor, better agree, That he was worthy to reign, if he had not ascended the throne; that is, that all the world wou'd have judged him so, and always continued in this opinion of him, if experience had not convinced them of the contrary.

He was of a soft and obliging disposition, inclined to courtesy and good offices; had a large share of wit, politeness and eloquence; a royal and majestick air, which received a great addition from the courage and love of glory, with which he was animated, when he was only duke of *Anjou*; but after his return from *Poland*, all this was succeeded by timorousness, irresolution, want of application, the love of repose and pleasure, a blind prodigality, a mistaken piety, which he made a politick use of to convince the publick of his attachment to religion, which, at the bottom, was sincere, though such an affectation made it suspicious.

Though we are not to give credit to all that the hugonot-writers and those of the league say concerning his secret debauches, yet it is difficult to believe, that every thing they say of him is universally false. One single instance appears to me a good proof, that there was some irregularity in his conduct. This fact I have from *d'Aubigne*, a hugonot, indeed, and one that was greatly incensed against the catholicks; but it is not probable that a gentleman of his character should invent a fact of this nature, with all the circumstances that attended it, when it was so easy to disprove him, if the matter had been intirely forged.

He tells us, that being M. *de S. Luc's* prisoner, who was one of those that were called the king's minions, that lord related to him the following story.

That being tired and ashamed of certain debaucheries, in which, out of complaisance, he had been an accomplice, he agreed with monsieur *d'Arques*, afterwards duke *de Joyeuse*, and with the mareschal *de Retz*, to frighten the king out of them, by making a hole in the wall by his bed-side, and thrusting a brass pipe

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pipe into it, through which one night, calling himself an angel sent from heaven, he denounced against him, in the name of God, some terrible menaces for his vices and dabauches; at which the king being shock'd, had like to have swoon'd, so that *d'Arques* being apprehensive lest he should not come to himself again, discovered the secret to him. *S. Luc* would not have gone unpunished, if the *mareschal de Retz* had not whispered him in his ear at a ball, not to defer making his escape one moment. He took his advice, and rode post to his government of *Brouage*, which he reached in two days and a half, supported himself there, and afterwards join'd the league for security.

S. Luc added, that from that time this prince was very uneasy in his mind; that sometimes he was taken in the night with such frights, as made him hide himself under his bed, and that, when it thunder'd, he always went down into the vaults of the *Lowre*, which shews, that the mortifications he exercised, and the retirements he affected from time to time, were not pure hypocrisy; but that the ill habit he had contracted, was too strong for the good motions, which now and then arose in his mind, and vanished almost as soon as they were admitted. It appears, however, that the last years of his life were exempt from these scandalous irregularities.

As for his religion, queen *Margaret* his sister informs us in her memoirs, that he at first suffered himself to be corrupted by the hugonots that were about him; that he himself made an attempt to seduce her, when she was not above six or seven years old; that seeing her with a book of catholick prayers, he snatch'd it from her, and threw it into the fire, and would have compelled her to make use of the hugonot devotions; but he was of a very different opinion afterwards, and continued always sincerely attach'd to the *Roman* religion.

In him ended the branch of *Angouleme*, which was a part of the house of *Orleans*, and all the race of *Valois*, which, by a long succession of kings, had held the scepter of *France* for near two hundred and sixty years, and now made room for the family of *Bourbon*, in the person of *Henry* king of *Navarre*, and the Fourth of that name in *France*.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE.

VOL. IV.

HENRY IV.

HENRY of *Bourbon*, who from the royal qualities with which he was adorn'd, and the heroick actions by which he restored peace and splendor to the kingdom of *France*, was deservedly named the *Great*, derived his original from *Robert* of *France* count of *Clermont*, lord of *Bourbon*, the fifth and last of the sons of *S. Lewis*.

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Henry was head of the branch of *Bourbon Vendome*, the nearest the crown, after the extinction of the house of *Valois*, by the death of *Henry III.* This prince, before his death, had required his principal courtiers to acknowledge him as his lawful successor; but from the moment he expired, several of the lords were observed to fall off, who, in compliance to him, had, till that time, affected to appear firm in the interest of the king of *Navarre*.

The mareschal *de Biron* observing a conspiracy beginning to form, and that there was not a moment to lose, went, by advice of the king, to the *Swiss* quarters,

A. D. 1589. quarters, which made up a considerable part of the army. He found them disposed to follow his intentions by the credit *M. de Sancy* had with them, and who of himself had, with the same view, gained them over to his inclinations. They prevailed upon them to wait for the orders of their superiors, and continue in the army under the king's command for two months, and that during this time they should demand no pay of him, as he was not yet in a condition to supply them.

In the mean time the lords, who did not care to submit to an hugonot king, came to court, with the duke of *Longueville* at their head, who conjured his majesty, in the name of the rest, to declare himself a catholick, assuring him, that from that moment he would see all orders of the kingdom very readily submit to him.

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The king answered them; That they had not enough reflected upon the step they proposed he should make; that he was not obstinate in his present belief; but that so sudden a change, in a matter of such consequence, must make him pass for a libertine, and of no religion; that they must give him leave to consider some time upon a point of such importnace; that he was surprized to see their tears for the late king's death dried up in the space of three hours, and that their thoughts should already not only be employed in other matters than the revenging the parricide so lately committed, but that they should also endeavour to disperse an army of thirty-thousand men, to leave it unpunished.

In that very moment *Givri* entered, and throwing himself at the king's feet, and kissing his hand, says to him *en Cavalier*, "Sir, I am just come from the flower of your brave nobility, who reserve their tears for the late king's death, 'till the time they shall have revenged it. They wait your orders: You are king of the brave, and will be deserted by none but scoundrels."

At the same time the king was informed, that the *Swiss* drew nigh, which freed him from the embarrassment, and fatigue of replies, and remonstrances. He went to meet them; and mareschal *Biron*, accompanied by *Guitri*, *Sancy*, *Chatillon*, *de la Noue*, and several

veral other lords, presented him with the *Swiss* colonels, and captains, and the oath they had taken in writing, not to leave the army. They were charm'd with the manner in which he received them. He embraced *Sancy*, and mightily caressed the *mareschal de Biron*, and all the rest.

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This declaration of the *Swiss*, and so many of the catholick nobility, shock'd several of those I mentioned, who were come to address the king with the duke of *Longueville*. Divers meetings were held by them, from which, those who had openly declared for his majesty were not excluded, whenever they had a mind to be present.

After several propositions, and disagreeing judgments, it was determined to acknowledge the king of *Navarre* as king of *France* without delay, and to take an oath of fidelity to him, but yet upon certain conditions they were to propose. These conditions principally regarded the security of the catholick religion, the advantages of the great lords, the services of the ministers, who had faithfully discharged their duty to the late king; the exemplary punishment of such as had been concerned in the detestable parricide committed upon his majesty's person; and lastly, that his majesty should consent they should send a deputation to the pope, to lay before him the reasons for acting in this affair as they had done.

This writing having been presented to the king, he accepted and signed it; and all those lords took an oath of fidelity to him in their own name, and the name of all their troops. His majesty was then in his 36th year, having been born in the castle of *Pau*, the capital city of *Bearn*, on the thirteenth of December 1553.

Certain of the lords refused to subscribe the act presented to the king, of whom the duke of *Espernon* was the most considerable by his employment. He gave several reasons for the refusal; one of which, as he owned to the dutchess of *Angoulême*, who did all she could to make him change his resolution, was the king's disinclination towards him; and it was true, indeed, his majesty did not love him; but the reason he publicly alledged was, that religion would be in eminent danger, whilst an heretick prince was upon the

A. D. the throne. And thus some few days after, he retired
 1589. with the troops he brought from *Angoumois* and
 ~~~~~ *Xaintonge*, to the number of six thousand foot and one  
 thousand two hundred horse, and led them into those  
 provinces.

This conduct of the duke was very disadvantageous to the king's affairs. His example drew after it several of the rest, and nothing so much strengthen'd the *Parisians* in their revolt, as this desertion, which weakned the king's army to a great degree.

Thuanus.  
 l. 93.

Their fury was carried to the most violent excess; for animated, as they principally were, by the preachers of the league, who had been the trumpets of sedition, to ruin the late king, and render his person execrable during his life; they spar'd him yet less after his death: They made a martyr of *James Clement*, and compared him to those whom God had raised up in the *Old Testament*, to save his people and deliver them from the tyranny of the infidel princes who oppress'd them.

The duke of *Mayenne* suffered them to do it; looking upon their extravagancies and follies; as so many engagements which united them the more strongly to his interest; and in the mean time he neglected no opportunity of drawing all possible advantages from this juncture. He wrote to all the towns of the union, and all the governments, exhorting them to make their advantage of an event, which was ordered by providence with a view to save religion, when it was at the point of ruin.

He gave notice to the king of *Spain* of all that had passed, and conjured him by the ardent zeal he had ever express'd towards religion, to second him with all his forces, and the great power God had put into his hands, and to execute the design he had formed with all good catholicks, to hinder heresy from gaining the superiority in *France*, as it had done in *England*, and over great part of *Germany*.

The duke of *Mayenne* was highly delighted with the propositions some of the seditious had made him, and which the people of *Paris* readily gave into, of setting him upon the throne: But he was too prudent to yield to such an offer. He foresaw, that by accepting the crown, he should soon make a division in  
 his

his party, and that the jealousy of foreign princes, and particularly of the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Lorraine*, would make them turn their arms against him, or at least prevent them from supplying him with succours, without which he could not subsist. The part he took, was to cause the cardinal *Charles* of *Bourbon* to be proclaimed king, who, upon supposition of the king's being excluded, was the rightful heir to the crown, and who being actually in prison, left him to enjoy the whole royal power; but it was three months before he put this project in execution.

A. D.  
1589.

Memoires de  
Villeroy, T. I.

The king knowing what had past at *Paris* upon this article, would have entered into a secret negotiation with the duke of *Mayenne*, assuring him at first, in general, of very great advantages to himself and his family, in case of compliance; but he refused to hearken to any proposition.

As the king saw there was no hopes of gaining the duke, that his army was continually weakened by the desertion, not only of the soldiers, but of abundance of catholick gentlemen, who, under pretence of going to give orders about their private affairs, desired leave to depart, or took it of themselves, that by this means he was not in a condition to continue the siege of *Paris*, he resolved to raise it, and go into *Normandy*, where he should be well situated to receive succours from the queen of *England*. But that he might not suffer the league to get too much ground in *Picardy* and *Champagne*, where they were very strong; he sent the duke of *Longueville* into *Picardy*, where he was governor, and the mareschal *d'Aumont* into *Champagne*, with a body of troops. And he farther gave permission to the gentlemen of those provinces to return to their houses, upon condition that they would readily come together again upon notice from the two generals.

He kept no more about him than a thousand horse, three thousand *French* foot and two regiments of *Swiss*. *Du Rolet* governor of *Pont de l'Arche*, an important pass upon the *Seine* above *Rouen*, put the place into the king's hands, who confirmed him in his government, after which, his majesty incamped at *Dernetal* half a league from *Rouen*, and from thence he went to *Dieppe*, which the commander *de Chartes*,



*A. D.* 1589. who was governor of it, in like manner put it into his hands. This was the principal end of his journey, as this place was of the last importance to him, for receiving succours from the queen of *England*.

In the mean time, the troops of the league were increased every day, by the fresh forces which were sent them out of divers provinces and from the *Low-Countries*. And the duke of *Mayenne* found himself very soon at the head of an army of thirty thousand men; and being principally invited by the towns-men of *Roan*, who feared to be besieged, he set forward towards *Normandy*; designing to inclose the king, who had but seven thousand men, if he ventured to keep the field, or to besiege him in *Dieppe*, if he retired into that place, and by forcing the town, compel him to take shelter in *England*.

The forces were so unequal, that the success of this expedition was not doubted at *Paris*, insomuch that several hired windows in the *Rue S. Antoine*, to see the triumph of the duke of *Mayenne* leading the captive *Bearnois* to the *Basile*, for so the leaguers of *Paris* called the king.

Memoires of  
the duke of  
Angoulême.

His majesty, informed of the duke of *Mayenne's* forces and march, thought it not prudent to attack him in open field with so great an inequality, nor consistent with his honour to shut himself up in *Dieppe*, with the danger of being taken by storm. He therefore resolved to intrench in a camp which should be advantageous by its situation, and from whence he might preserve his communication with *Dieppe*, and by this means supply his want of forces, if the enemies should venture to attack him.

He posted himself upon the castle of *Arques*, about a league and a half from *Dieppe*, and entrenched there. He gave the count of *Chatillon* the defence of the *Fauxbourg du Polet*, which it was necessary to defend, by reason of an eminence which commands the town and port of *Dieppe*. It was, indeed, on that side the duke of *Mayenne* made his first attempt; but he was vigorously repulsed by *Chatillon*, upon whom he could not gain an inch of ground. This made him resolve to attack the king in his intrenchments, which he did upon a *Tuesday* morning, on the eve of *S. Matthew*.

It is certain, the king was never in more danger of losing his life and crown, than upon this occasion, he was so vigorously attack'd; but his valour and ability, his activity and presence of mind, to remedy a thousand unforeseen accidents, rendered all the efforts of his enemies unsuccessful. They were every where repulsed, and the count of *Charillon* being come up with a body of infantry, obliged them to retire. *Mareschal Biron*, who commanded the army under his majesty, distinguished himself by his judgment and experience in war.

In this battle the leaguers lost six hundred men, and several brave officers and gentlemen. The royal party took abundance of prisoners, and among the rest, the count of *Belin* *mareschal de Camp*.

On the king's side, the count *de Roussi* was slain with the stroke of a lance in the eye, with *M. de Baqueville*. *Rambures* and *la Roche Jaquelin* were wounded, and the valour of colonel *Gallati*, and his dexterity in defending his post, contributed very much to the victory.

After this battle, his majesty received a supply of four thousand *English*. The duke of *Mayenne* being informed of it, and knowing that he was also about to be joined by certain troops which the count *Soissons*, the duke of *Longueville*, and *mareschal D'Aumont*, were bringing up to him, he retired from *Dieppe*, and bent his course towards *Picardy*, where he surprized *la Fere*, by intelligence, after the king, who followed him as far as the river *Somme*, had ceased his pursuit, to turn towards *Paris*.

He came as far as *Bagneux* within a league of the town, and disposed of his troops in the neighbouring villages: And then the *Parisians* became sensible they had been misinformed of his majesty's defeat at *Arques*, and his flight into *England*. But they were much more surprized, when the next day in the morning, being *All-saints* day, he attack'd their *Fauxbourgs*, and carried them without almost any loss on his part, and a very great one on theirs; for they had between seven and eight hundred men slain. There were taken from them fourteen ensigns and thirteen pieces of cannon, and the conquerors very narrowly avoided entering the town with the soldiers in their flight.

His Majesty's  
Letter to  
Monsieur Du  
plexis Mor-  
nay, on the  
2d of Nov.  
1589.

A. D. 1589. This news brought the duke of *Mayenne* immediately out of *Picardy*; and thus one of the points the king had designed in the attack of the *Fauxbourgs*, was effected according to his wish. His presence re-kindled their courage, and in the mean time, certain intelligences the king held in *Paris*, were discovered. This cost several of the towns-men their lives; and even the president *Nicholas Potier de Blancmenil*, who was the head and soul of the enterprize, would not have been spared, if he had not found means to make his escape. The king chose him to preside over the chamber of parliament which he had established at *Chalons*.

The presence of the duke of *Mayenne*, and the arrival of his army, which, for the more haste, had followed him in parties, rendred the siege of the town impracticable. The king retired from it, but before he withdrew, he put his army in order of battle, and waited from eight a clock in the morning till eleven, in expectation that the army of the league would come to attack him; but no body ventured out of the town.

The king then directed his course towards the *Loire*, and took several small places by the way. He dismissed the nobility and troops of *Picardy*, and sent them back into their province, under the command of the duke of *Longueville* their governor.

Thuanus, l.  
97.

Being arrived at *Chateaudun*, he there received an agreeable piece of news from the *Swiss* colonels, who had been deputed upon the death of *Henry* the third, to receive an answer from their superiors, whether they should continue in the king's service, or leave him. They assured him it was the will of the cantons to treat with him as they had done with his predecessors, to supply him with troops, and renew their alliances with his majesty. At the same time, he gave orders to attack the town of *Vendome*, which was carried by storm, by the count de *Chatillon* and the baron de *Biron*. *Maille-Benhard*, who had given it up to the league in the late king's life-time, and had continued governor of it, was put to death for his treachery. Several small towns in those quarters, being intimidated by this example, made little resistance; upon which his majesty made his entry into *Tours* on the twenty-first of *November*, and gave good orders to prevent the inroads of



of the leaguers, who had made themselves masters of several poſts in *Touraine*, *Anjou* and *Maine*.

A. D.

1589.

The town of *Tours*, in which there had been ſome time before, a conſpiracy in favour of the league, was ever after faithful to the king; and 'twas there that *John Mocenigo*, embaffador of *Venice*, came, in the name of that republick, to acknowledge him as king of *France*, and compliment him upon his advancement to the throne. 'Twas with reaſon, he look'd upon this ſtep of that wiſe republick as very advantageous to his intereſt, as it ſhew'd that the juſtice of his cauſe was not only owned by proteſtant princes, but withal by catholic potentates.

He then made abundance of conqueſts with his little army. He took *Chateau du Loir*, *Mans*, *Sable*, *Beaumont*, *Laval*, *Chateau-Gontier*, *Alenſon*, and over-run, with the ſame ſucceſs, all the *Lower Normandy*. He took the town and caſtle of *Falaiſe* by aſſault, where he made the count of *Briffac* and the chevalier *Picart* priſoners. He ſubjected *Verneuil*, *Liſieux*, *Pont-Audemor*, *Honſieur*, and ſeveral other towns and caſtles. It had not been ſeen of a long time, that any war was carried on with like vivacity, as was then by the king. He travelled with his army near an hundred and fifty leagues in ſeven weeks in the midſt of winter, and being obliged, at almoſt every encampment, to make an infinite number of ſmall ſieges, the caſtles of the country, and the little towns, being almoſt every where filled with the favourers of the league. They no longer ventur'd to appear in *Tourain*, *Anjou* and *Maine*, in which laſt province, all they had remaining, was *la Ferte Bernard*. Abundance of gentlemen in *Brittany* declared for the king, and he ſent the prince of *Dombes* into that province, to ſupport and ſtrengthen the party he had there. This prince's moderation, the exact diſcipline he obſerved among his ſoldiers, and the great care he always took to prevent the pillage of churches, to treat the clergy with honour, to maintain their privileges, and ſuffer no innovation in matters of religion, notwithſtanding the murmurs of ſome of the hugonots, contributed very much to his conqueſts. Theſe different expeditions took him up the firſt month of the year 1590.

A. D.

1589.



Memoires of  
the League,  
T. 4.  
Thuanus, l.  
21.

Whilst matters were thus carrying on, the duke of *Mayenne* was not without difficulties at *Paris*. Indeed he had been always well served by the preachers and the faction of sixteen, who continually invented false news in favour of the arms of the league, to amuse the people, and made use of all sorts of calumnies to render the king odious, especially in the matter of religion. The duke was also perfectly well served at *Rome*, by the commander *de Dieu* and his other agents. Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth refused to order the accustomed solemnity for the late king, under pretence, that he died excommunicate. The duke of *Luxembourg* had been deputed by the catholick princes and lords, who had submitted to the king by the treaty of the camp before *Paris*, to give an account to the pope, of the reasons which had obliged them to act as they had done: But he could not obtain of his holiness to be received at *Rome*, either as ambassador or envoy; but was only permitted to appear as a private person. The pope named a legate to reside at *Paris*; and this was cardinal *Cajetan*, a man entirely devoted to the party of the league; but still more to the interest of the king of *Spain*, whose subject he was born. 'Twas this devotion of the legate to the king of *Spain's* interest, which gave the duke of *Mayenne* the greatest uneasiness; for he was apprehensive of nothing so much, as to see himself govern'd by the *Spaniards*, whose assistance he desir'd to make his advantage of; but was unwilling to become their slave in the government of the kingdom.

He was, withal, informed of the secret intrigues of *Mendoza* ambassador of *Spain*, who had gain'd over the heads of the sixteen in favour of his master, and the private managements of the duke of *Lorraine*, to make the crown descend to his son, as grandson to *Henry II.* by *Claude* of *France*. This made him execute immediately, and before the legate's arrival at *Paris*, the project he had formed of proclaiming *Charles* the cardinal of *Bourbon*, king of *France*. This was done upon the twenty-first of *November*, and at the same time he caused himself to be declared lieutenant general of the kingdom, so long as that prince should continue in prison. After this proclamation, all publick

lick acts were made by the authority of the cardinal king, under the name of *Charles the Tenth*. A. D. 1589.

From that time divisions, jealousies and discontents began to take place among the party of the league. The duke of *Mayenne* took all necessary precautions against the intrigues of the legate and ambassador of *Spain*, and they, on the other hand, entred upon measures to promote his fall. The duke of *Lorraine* acted but very faintly in favour of the league; and for the duke of *Savoy*, without giving himself much trouble about what might happen, he was careful only to secure to himself the possession of the marquisate of *Saluces*, and to carry on his conquests as far as he could into *France*; as being persuaded that what turn soever affairs should take, there would always remain to him some part of what he had gotten.

The king of *Spain's* project, was to be continually making great offers and large promises; but to send only so much assistance to the league, as should be necessary to keep them from sinking, till at last the fear of being intirely crush'd, should lay them under a necessity of giving up themselves wholly to him. The duke of *Mayenne*, on the other hand, designed to strengthen himself, by the power of this prince, as much as possible, and to preserve him in his interest, that he might thereby become formidable to the king, and esteem'd by his party, upon account of the protection of so mighty a monarch, whose whole forces, he loudly proclaimed, were at his disposal. But he was unwilling to be so far supported by him, as to be obliged to act under his authority. In this manner were matters carried on during the whole war; sometimes the king of *Spain*, on one side, making a difficulty to furnish the succours that were demanded, unless upon good warrant of being indemnified for his loss; and sometimes the duke of *Mayenne*, on the other side, privately threatening to come to a reconciliation with the king, in case they deferred to send him assistance.

The ambassador of *Spain* then made a proposition, which was attended with very specious offers of advantage to the commerce of *France*, by the liberty the *Spaniards* would give the *French* of trafficking in *Peru*, and the other places they had conquered in the *Indies*, and by this means, provide them one fund,



*A. D.* 1589. which should pay the arrears of the rents of the *hotel de Ville*, and another, which should be employed in the expences of the war, with other things of the like nature; and in lieu of this, it was proposed to give the king his master the title of protector of *France*, with the power of nominating to the employments and offices of the kingdom, in like manner as he did at *Naples* and *Sicily*.

This proposition embarrassed the duke of *Mayenne*; but he found means to elude it, when 'twas mentioned to him in the council of the union; and this was by the address of messieurs *de Villeroy* and the archbishop of *Lyons*, who, for a ransom of a hundred thousand crowns, had obtained his liberty of captain *le Guat*, who had him in custody. The cardinal *de Gondi* joined with the other two, and the matter stopp'd here, notwithstanding the opposition of some of the sixteen, who being present at the council, had much commended the project, and caused the preachers to approve of it from the pulpit, whose ministry they made use of upon every occasion. The ambassador of *Spain* plainly saw, by the unsuccessfulness of this attempt, that it would not be so easy a matter as he imagined, to draw the *Frenchmen* into his net.

Whilst the king had the better of the league in the *Lower Normandy*, *Touraine*, *Anjou* and *Maine*, his success was not altogether so fortunate in the other parts of the kingdom, where those of his party were sometimes conquerors, and sometimes beaten.

*La Valette* governor of *Provence*, found much difficulty to stand his ground against the count of *Carfès* and the sieur *de Vins*, who were heads of the league in that country. They had the advantage over him in several small skirmishes, and took from him several places. The countess of *Sault* debauched several of the gentry, and engaged them in the party of the league. However he took *Lambesc* and *Toulon*. *De Vins* was slain at the attack of *Grasse*; but the town was taken. *Tarascon*, where the townsmen were divided, was secured to the king.

*Lesdiguières* began now to render himself very formidable to the leaguers in *Dauphiny*. He block'd up *Grenoble*, which was afterwards obliged to surrender.

The count of *Rendan* had caused almost all *Auvergne*, *A. D.* where he was governor, to revolt in favour of the league. He made himself master of *Iffoire*, which was reduced to the king's obedience by the baron *de Millaut d'Allegre*, and afterwards retaken by *Rendan* at the first onset, by means of three petards, after a bloody fight. The duke of *Epernon*, though in disgrace with the king, saved him *Limoges*, and gained him several castles. He saved also the town and castle of *Bourg*. *1590.*

The Life of  
the Duke of  
Epernon, l. 3.

The league had many favourers in *Bourdeaux*, and even in the parliament. The mareschal *de Matignon* was governor there, and had vigorously made war upon the king in the late reign, and it was in his power to carry off from his majesty that town and a part of *Guyenne*; but after having considered some time what part he should take, he resolved upon a delay, and to give the king time to determine in the affair of religion. He engaged the parliament to a kind of neutrality, and by this means did the king a greater service than if he had undertaken to make the town declare for him by force, which he would hardly have been able to effect, and of which his majesty afterwards acknowledged himself sensible. *Hist. of the  
Mareschal de  
Matignon, l. 2.*

The parliament of *Toulouse* had acted very differently some time before, and had carried their zeal for religion far beyond its bounds, by a decree, which was drawn up on this occasion. The parliament of *Roan* had behaved in a manner less violent; but yet very severe. The parliament of *Aix* shewed no regard to the king's letters he wrote to them. The parliament of *Grenoble*, though in the interest of the league, gave a proof of their prudence, by the answer they made to the ambassadors of *Savoy*, who were not ashamed to propose to them, to own the duke their master, as king of *France*. The parliament answered, They were much obliged to his highness for the offers of protection he made to all the inhabitants of *Dauphiny*, but as his proposition regarded the general interest of the kingdom, it belonged to the states general, when they should be assembled, to give him an answer, and not to them, who were but a very small part of the country.

These were the principal matters which passed in the provinces according to the different inclinations of the

A. D. the people, and those who governed them during the year 1589, and a part of the year 1590.

1590.

In the mean while, the duke of *Mayenne* found a deal of difficulty at *Paris* to disentangle himself from the intrigues of the *Spaniards*, who had brought upon him the seditious faction of the sixteen. In this extremity he had recourse to a very prudent expedient, which was to break up the council of the Union, where the sixteen had a great authority. This he did by the consent of the council itself, having first gained over the principal members, and the most honest men among them, to his design. He then made the archbishop of *Lyons* keeper of the great seal, and created four new secretaries of state. And thus the duke drew upon himself the whole exercise of the royal power. But to make the *Parisians* sensible of the beneficial effects of it, he took the field, carried *Pontoise* and the castle of *Vincennes*, and sat down before *Meulan*, a small town upon the *Seine*.

The king looked upon this town as a place of importance, by reason of its situation. He marched thither, and came before it with eight hundred light horse and a thousand harquebusiers. Upon his majesty's arrival, the duke abandoned the attack of the fort, which is in an isle not far from the town, and repassed his troops across the river towards the *Vexin*. He recruited the garrison in the fort, and returned to *Breteil* at the head of his army.

The duke again laid siege to the fort, and upon information that his majesty approached with his army, he retired a second time, after having given an assault, where he lost abundance of his men. He marched towards *Poissi*, which the duke of *Mayenne* had also retaken. He had what he designed by this march, which made him quit *Meulan* to the duke, that he might come to the succour of *Poissi*, which did not hinder the baron *de Biron* from taking it by the escalade. A fort built in the middle of the bridge, was also assaulted and carried, and all this in the sight of the duke of *Mayenne*.

Memoires of the League, supply of fifteen hundred lances, and five hundred harquebusiers of the best *Spanish* troops in the Low-Countries, commanded by the count of *Egmont*, and



and sent by the duke of *Parma*, governor in the *Low-Countries*. A. D.  
1590.

This did not hinder the king from going to attack *Dreux*, which he designed to have besieged: But he had hardly distributed his troops round the town, before he was informed, the duke of *Mayenne* was coming to its succour, and had already passed the bridge at *Mante*.

Upon this news, the king having assembled his council of war, said to his officers, with an air of gallantry, "Gentlemen, we must raise the siege, but there will be no dishonour in doing it, since 'tis for the sake of a battle."

In reality, within three days after, that is, on the fourteenth of *March*, the two armies having met in the plain of *Ivry*, the onset was given, and the duke of *Mayenne* entirely defeated, though his army was by a third part more numerous than the king's. His majesty, in a letter he wrote that evening to the mayor of *Langres*, takes notice, There were twelve hundred lansquenets of the enemy's army slain in the field of battle, and many of the *French* infantry, and between nine-hundred and one thousand horse, besides a great many others, who were drowned in passing the river *Eure*, as they fled; and he added, That he did not believe a fourth part of this army, which consisted of sixteen thousand men, had made their escape. In the king's army there were slain about five hundred men, and some lords and gentlemen were wounded, of whom the most part recovered of their wounds. The victory was made compleat, by the taking of the cannon, baggage, standards, and colours.

The king himself had laid the plan of the battle, Id. ibid:  
Thuanus,  
l. 98. which was admirably followed, and very well executed by his general officers. The mareschal de *Biron*, who commanded the corps de *Reserve*, shewed his ordinary valour and prudence upon many occasions, during the fight. The mareschal d' *Aumont*, who commanded the left, the king having taken the right, and in general, all the officers, who had any command, signalized themselves in this action, and the king, beyond all the rest, by the consent of the whole world.

A. D.  
1590.



The duke of *Mayenne* escaped over the bridge of *Ivry*, which is placed upon the *Eure*, and which he immediately gave orders to be broken down: But he was not yet secure, notwithstanding the compass the king was obliged to make to pass the river at *Aner*. He would have infallibly been taken, if the inhabitants of *Mante* had persisted in their first resolution, and not suffered him to enter their town, and pass over their bridge to get the *Seine* between him and the victorious army. But he was so instant in his prayers and intreaties, and assured them so positively the king had been killed in the battle, that at last they opened their gates, and let him pass.

Upon the same day with the battle of *Ivry*, there happened a considerable engagement in *Auvergne*, within sight of the town of *Issire*, where the leaguers were defeated. The count of *Rendan*, their general, lost two thousand men: Himself was wounded and taken, and not long after died of his wounds. This was a great loss for the league, and the victory was followed with the surrender of the capital of *Issire*, which was besieged by the counts of *Curton* and *Rossegnac*, and *Chaseron*, governor of the *Bourbonnois*, who were all three royalists.

To return to the fruits of the battle of *Ivry*. The first advantage it produced was the reduction of *Mante* and *Vernon* to the king's obedience: By the submission of these two places he had all the bridges of the *Seine*, but *Paris* and *Roan*, in his power. These conquests would have been far more considerable, if money had not been wanting, which almost made the *Swissers* to mutiny, and hindered the king from marching directly to *Paris*, which, in all probability, in this consternation, would have opened their gates to him, and gave time to the duke of *Mayenne*, the legate, and the *Spanish* ministers, to inspire fresh courage into the hearts of the people, not only in this capital city, but also in the other towns of the kingdom, which were all guided by its example.

Memoires de  
Sulli, T. 1.  
c. 29.

The duke of *Mayenne* having gained *S. Denis*, the legate, the ambassador of *Spain*, and the archbishop of *Lyons*, went thither to meet him; where they concluded upon these two points, First, to send couriers into *Spain*, the *Low-Countries*, and to *Rome*, to demand

mand succour, and to let them know, that provided they would send a supply, the defeat of *Ivry* might easily be repaired; and secondly, to amuse the king, as long as they could, with hopes of an accommodation, that by this means they might have leisure to provide *Paris* with troops and ammunition.

After this conference, the couriers, and several messengers, were dispatched. The duke of *Mayenne* went to *Soissons*, to get together certain troops from *Champagne* and *Picardy*. He sent the duke of *Nemours* to *Paris*, with the title of general, and desired the legate to continue there, in order to re-animate the people; and being willing to persuade the *Parisians* their town was in no danger, he left there his mother, sister, wife, and children. As to the design of making offers of accommodation, it was resolved to employ *M. de Villeroy*, as a person agreeable to the king, who had desired a conference with him after the death of *Henry III.* Monsieur *de Villeroy* was hardly prevailed on to accept of this commission, and he would have absolutely refused it, if he had known that it was a feigned design, as in reality it was.

At first he treated with the sieur *Dupleixis-Mornay*, who was his particular friend, and then very much in the king's confidence, and afterwards, by means of this lord, with the king himself. But, in the mean while, his majesty formed the blockade of *Paris*. The town was already shut up by the lower part of the river *Seine*, where the king was master of the towns and bridges. Nothing more was wanting to form an entire blockade, than to cut off the communication above with the rest of the kingdom; and this was very easy. *Corbeil*, upon the *Seine*, and *Lagny* upon the *Marne*, surrendered at the first summons. *Melun*, after some resistance, was obliged to capitulate; and thus all the passes of the river, which supplied *Paris*, were stopt up.

'Twas then that *M. de Villeroy*, after having conferred with the duke of *Mayenne* at *Soissons*, came from him to confer with the king. Almost all turned upon the change of religion, which he proposed to his majesty, representing to him, that in the good condition in which his affairs were found after the victory of *Ivry*, this step would appear voluntary, and by  
no



A. D. 1590. no means the effect of force ; that then he would see all the *French* nobility, and people, striving who should first submit to him ; and farther, that it was absolutely necessary, as the zeal for the ancient religion was so deeply inrooted in the heart of most of the *French*, that they would even sacrifice all to defend and secure it.

The king answered, That it was not his business to prescribe him conditions and laws for his conduct, but he ought to keep to the instructions that had been given him. To which *Villeroy* replied, But, Sir, your majesty is resolved to keep the word you have given, to hearken to instructions, and if you wou'd consent that some of the most eminent prelates in the kingdom, and certain learned doctors of the catholick party should begin this instruction by conferences with your majesty, I dare venture to affirm it would make a great impression upon the mind of the people, and very much dispose them to return to you.

The king did not seem displeased with this proposition. He told him he would consider of it, and give him an answer the next day, and ordered him to follow him to *Nangis*, where he should lie. However, he did not touch upon this article, when he dismissed him, and charged him only to tell the duke of *Mayenne*, that he might expect from him all sort of satisfaction, if he would contribute, as it was in his power, to pacify his kingdom ; and lastly, added his majesty, It is to no purpose that I should treat farther with you, because you have not a sufficient authority, but tell the duke of *Mayenne*, that he can send me persons with sufficient powers ; that they shall be very well received, and that I will endeavour to give them all possible satisfaction, as I am very desirous to deliver my subjects from the misery of the war.

*Villeroy* begged leave of the king to represent to him, that tho' the duke of *Mayenne* was head of the party of the league, he had not such an authority as to be able of himself to conclude any thing upon points of such importance as the present ; that he could not do it but with an assembly of the deputies of the most considerable towns ; that to this end it would be requisite to have passports, and intimated to him, that  
a suspen-

a suspension of arms would be necessary to this effect. A. D.

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The king cut him short upon this article, by telling him, he would not agree either to the one or the other, and that it was very important to him not to suspend the war, that he might not lose the fruits of this victory.

Notwithstanding this answer, the duke of *Mayenne* did not forbear to write to the principal towns of the league, to send, immediately, their deputies to *Paris*; but without telling them the real cause of thus calling them together, and only letting them understand, that it was to deliberate with them, and take their advice upon the present state of affairs: And as he knew, at the same time, that the *Spaniards* solicited the governors of several towns in *Picardy* to deliver them up to them, he marched toward that frontier, as well to disconcert these intrigues, as to press for the assistance in person, which the prince of *Parma* had promised him. In the mean time, the king continued to make himself master of the towns about *Paris*. *Provins*, *Bray*, and *Montereau-faut-Yonne* submitted to him. From thence he returned to his camp at *Paris*. His army consisted but of fourteen thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. 'Twas a great enterprize, to besiege a town of so large extent as *Paris* with so small a number of troops. There were then in the town eight thousand foreign soldiers, and above fifty thousand men, who were capable of bearing arms, and whom the civil war had pretty well disciplined; but the king reckoned upon the easiness of starving it; and indeed it was by no means probable, that a town so well peopled, could have provisions for the space of a month, when all the rivers, both above and below, were stopped up from contributing to any supply.

The duke of *Nemours*, who was commander in *Paris*, gave proof of his courage upon this occasion, and still more of his ability, by the measures he took either to sustain the attacks, or in providing against a thousand inconveniencies which could not be prevented in a siege where the inhabitants were menaced with famine, and the town was to be defended against the private intelligences, and insurrections of a people and garrison whose courage was easily abated, and their indignation

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indignation as easily increased by their misery. It must be owned, that one cannot enough admire the constancy, activity, vigilance, and the multiplicity of expedients he found out to support so long as he did so extraordinary an enterprize, which an immense number of accidents might have brought every moment to a fatal issue.

Besides the ordinary measures of fortifying and intrenching such places as were weak, against any sudden attack; of forming a sufficient supply of arms, artillery, ammunition, and other things of the like nature, he managed the disposition of posts with wonderful prudence: The most important, such as the guard of the gates, the *Bastile*, and some others, he committed only to the chief of the sixteen, and those who were most contented to be an exact watch, thro' their despair of obtaining pardon, if the town was taken.

Notwithstanding the small quantity of provision he had for so great a number of inhabitants, he provided largely enough for those, who had the most credit among the people; that as they did not suffer much want themselves, they might still maintain their courage. He had spies, in all places, who gave him an account of every proceeding and word of the royalists or politicians, that is, of all those who were suspected to be inclined to the king's party.

The dutchess of *Montpensier*, and the other princesses and ladies, had also their employments allotted them, which were to serve as a model of constancy and firmness to the other women, and to make use of all the caresses, liberality, and artifices, upon this occasion, which the sex was capable of shewing.

The duke of *Nomours* did not stand in need of much eloquence to engage the ambassador of *Spain* to imitate the princesses, especially in an affair of such importance to the interest of the king his master. He even surpassed them, in supplying two thousand poor people with provisions every day to support life, and selling his gold and silver plate for this purpose, and every thing else of value which belonged to him.

The duke knew perfectly well how to make the best advantage of the madness of the clergy, and the religious, and of the hatred they bore towards the king.

The



The preachers were useful to him, in supporting the courage of the people, by their lively and pathetic exhortations ; in which they exaggerated the danger of religion, and flattered them with the assurance that their miseries and death had the nature of a real martyrdom.

The faculty of divinity was entirely at his devotion, and gave out such decisions as he pleased, when 'twas requisite to support or intimidate consciences, especially, when 'twas proposed to capitulate or treat with the king.

A regiment was formed of thirteen hundred men, made up of priests, scholars, and monks, of almost every order in the town, who were armed with helmets, and clad in cuirasses, over their ecclesiastical habits, having M. *Ross*, bishop of *Senlis*, at their head. Prints were taken of their march, which are yet in being, and might well pass for grotesque figures, purely imaginary, if the fact had not been so constantly averred by all our historians.

The duke's authority gave him an absolute permission to do what he pleased, without any one's gainsaying ; even so far as to melt the lead and silver of the churches, and to sell the jewels of the crown ; and he was served so effectually by his spies, that of several intelligences which were practised in the town, there was not so much as one which escaped his discovery : He made very few sallies, for fear of desertion.

The king began with attacking the bridges of *Charonton*, and *S. Maur*. They were both carried, and the persons who defended them hung in chains. He caused a bridge to be built over the river at *Conflans* ; and by this means his troops had an opportunity of a free passage to ravage the country around *Paris*. He took *S. Denis* by composition, and made an attack upon the *Fauxbourg S. Martin*, which proved unsuccessful, and where M. *de la Noue* was wounded in the thigh with a musquet shot.

The king was surprized at the obstinate defence of the besieged, and resolved after three months blockade, to shut them up still closer. Upon the twenty-seventh of *July* he caused a general assault to be made upon the *Fauxbourgs*, and carried them ; the troops were lodged

A. D. there, excepting in the *Fauxbourg S. Antoine*, where  
1590. there were very few houses.

*Paris* being so close block'd up, was reduced to the last extremities; they eat dogs, cats, rats, and leather; they went so far as to make a paste of dead mens bones ground to powder, so that this siege was, with reason, compared to that of *Jerusalem* in the time of the emperors *Vespasian* and *Titus*.

Notwithstanding the oaths were administred afresh, and the decisions of the *Sorbonne* were again repeated, these miseries were brought to such a pass, that the state of affairs having been examined in a grand council, where the cardinal of *Gondy*, bishop of *Paris*, and the archbishop of *Lyons*, the presidents, and counsellors of parliament, and several of the most considerable men in the town were present, it was concluded, in opposition to the duke of *Nemours*, to send deputies to the king with propositions; the cardinal of *Gondy*, and the archbishop of *Lyons*, were charged with this commission.

They were received by the king, much more coldly than they expected. They offered to put *Paris* into his hands, provided he would become a catholick, and that the other towns of the league would submit to him upon the same condition. But they desired he would give them leave, before the conclusion of the treaty, to confer with the duke of *Mayenne*.

The substance of the king's answer was, That it did not belong to subjects to prescribe conditions to their sovereign; that if the town of *Paris* would submit to his mercy, he would receive it; but they must merit their pardon, by an immediate surrender; that the duke of *Mayenne* was out of the question, and he would not suffer them to go to him.

The king judging by this step, that the *Parisians* were under great difficulties, thought he should decide the affair by attacking them in form. He laid a trench towards the gate *S. Germain*s, prepared a battery of thirteen cannons, and employ'd the miners to undermine the wall. The duke of *Nemours* used all possible care upon this occasion: He countermined the gate, raised intrenchments. The mine proved unsuccessful, and the attack was discontinued.

Soon

Soon after the king put himself at the head of a large body of horse, and made an expeditious march, in hopes to surround the duke of *Mayenne* in a place where he knew that he was but thinly accompanied, but the duke had notice soon enough to retire, and throw himself into *Laon*, where he was secure.

Several believed, that if the king had suffered the two prelates to have gone to the duke of *Mayenne*, the duke would have consented to the surrender of *Paris*, he was then so dissatisfied with the *Spaniards* for the repulses they had given him upon his demanding aid. But the king could not persuade himself, that the king of *Spain* would have commanded the prince of *Parma* to enter *France* with an army, and leave the *Low-Countries*, whilst count *Maurice* the son and successor of the prince of *Orange*, in the command of the states troops, had an army ready to fall upon the *Spanish* towns; as soon as they should find them disarmed. Prudence, in such cases, obliges us to follow the most probable councils; but, in doing so, we sometimes fall short of the mark, and take the wrong side. The king of *Spain*, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the prince of *Parma*, ordered him to sacrifice all to the deliverance of *Paris*, and to employ the best troops he had in the *Low-Countries* in raising the siege. The news of succour from the *Spanish* army, which had so often been falsely reported in *Paris*, became at last true, and the duke of *Mayenne*, not long after, assured the *Parisians*, that the prince of *Parma* would be at *Meaux*, in a little time, at the head of his army.

He entered *France* at the head of twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse, who being joined by the *Debris* of the battle of *Ivry*, whom the duke of *Mayenne* had got together, by a body of horse whom the count of *Chaligni* had brought from *Lorraine*, by the troops of *Balagny* prince of *Cambray*, who always followed the party of the league, and by some others, made up a very numerous army, and much superiour to the king's.

This was most terrible news to his majesty, who was obliged to raise the siege to march and meet the enemy. After having long deliberated upon the post he should take to oppose their passage, he came into the plain of *Bondy*, where he took a review of his



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army. He had in it eighteen thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, among whom were betwixt four or five thousand gentlemen; for the gentry of his party, and the troops from several places, were come to join him upon the news that the *Spanish* army had entered *France*.

The king did all he could to draw the prince of *Parma* to a battle, but this was not the general's design, who had proposed nothing more to himself, than to raise the siege of *Paris*. He took *Lagni* by assault, and thereby opened the way to *Paris*, having it in his choice, by this means, to march on either side the river, according as the king should post himself, it being impossible for the king to shut up from him both passages at the same time, so that his majesty returned into the plains of *Bondy*, with his army, and there encamped.

He did not however forbear to make another attempt upon *Paris*, in hopes the *Parisians* seeing the siege raised, would not be upon their guard, and fell very short of success. The count *de Chatillon* having marched by night with a party of the infantry, planted seven or eight ladders, near the gate *S. Jacques*, without being perceived. Some of the soldiers got upon the wall, but a centinel having giving the alarm, the neighbouring guard fell upon them, and killed, or threw down in the fosse, those who had got up; and others coming to their assistance from all sides, *Chatillon* was obliged to sound a retreat, and retire to a distance.

This blow having failed, the king quitted the plain of *Bondy*, and went to incamp at *Gonesse*, where he began to put in execution the resolution he had formed of dividing his army into several detachments. He sent them into such parts of the country, under his subjection, as were most exposed to danger from the enemy. The prince of *Conti* carried back with him the most part of the nobility and gentry of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*, to keep the leaguers, in those quarters, under due obedience. The duke of *Montpensier* returned into *Normandy* with the troops he had brought thence; the duke of *Longueville* into *Picardy*, and the mareschal *d'Aumont* into *Burgundy*; the duke of *Nevers* went to command in *Champagne*, and *Lavardin*

*wardin* was charged with the defence of *S. Denis*. The king kept the mareschal *Biron* about his person, with a body very considerable, to march whither his presence should be necessary, and to harrafs the enemy: And to let the leaguers see, he was still in a condition to make conquests, he besieged *Clermont*, in *Beauvois*, and took it upon capitulation.

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*Paris* being delivered, and re-victualled, the army of the prince of *Parma* drew near the town, and himself entered *incognito*; but the famine would have very soon been revived in *Paris*, if the rivers of *Seine*, and *Marne*, were not kept open; and this therefore the heads of the league took first into consideration.

They were already become masters of *Provins*, and some other small places, which were not in a condition to make any resistance. They got into their hands the ports of *S. Maur*, and *Charenton*, and went to lay siege to *Corbeil*, on the twenty-fourth of *September*. The sieur de *Rigaud*, a colonel in the army, kept them three weeks before that place, which was cannonaded, and opened in several places, and he was there slain by a cannon shot. The captain and soldiers went on to sustain the siege, till they were carried by assault, and cut to pieces. The marquis de *Ren*, one of the most able generals in the *Spanish* army, with several other officers of note, were there slain.

D' Aubigne  
T. 3. l. 2.  
c. 9.

This was the last of the prince of *Parma's* conquests. His troops were much diminished; the winter came on, and prince *Maurice*, at the head of the states army, made a great advantage of his absence; for which reason he set forward towards the *Low-Countries*, in the month of *November*. He was still at *Brie*, when he learnt that *Corbeil* was re-taken. The *Parisians* pressed him very earnestly to recover it, but he refused to comply. He was mightily incommoded in his return, partly by the royal garrisons, and partly by the king himself, who was constantly at his heels: However, he lost nothing more than part of his baggage. As soon as he was arrived upon the frontiers, he dispatch'd certain troops, both of horse and foot, to the assistance of the duke of *Mayerne*.

D' Avila,  
l. 12.

The king ceasing to pursue the enemy, made his entry into *S. Quentin*, which had gladly submitted to his obedience. Upon the tenth of *December*, news

A. D. 1590. was brought him of the conquest of *Cortie*, which three lords of his party had taken by surprize: These were the sieurs de *Humieres*, de *Parabere*, and de *la Boissiere*. This was the last expedition of importance this year in *Picardy*; and therefore I shall now mention what passed elsewhere.

Though the principal forces of the two parties were employed on one side in the blockade of *Paris*, and on the other in its defence, and some again were in readiness to join the duke of *Mayenne* when there should be occasion; the war was carried on, in some of the provinces, more vigorously, than in the neighbourhood of this capital city. Several very bloody battles were fought in *Maine*, where the leaguers were always beaten: *Du Hertray*, governor of *Alençon*; *Lestelle*, governor of *Mayenne*; *la Rouchpot*, governor of *Angou*, and several other gentlemen of the royalist party, distinguished themselves in a very remarkable manner. The prince of *Conti* took *la Ferte Bernard*, the only place which remained to the league in *Maine*, and *Chateaudun*, which had been taken, not long before, by *la Bourdaisiere* for the league.

*Philip Emanuel* of *Lorraine*, duke of *Mercoeur*, and governor of *Brittany*, was declared chief of the league in that province. He acted independently enough of the duke of *Mayenne*, for though united by the common interests of their house, and the league, yet the duke of *Mercoeur* had particular views of his own, and carried them very high. He had married *Mary* of *Lexembourg*, heir of the house of *Pentkieve*, a branch of the last dukes of *Brittany*, and under pretence of this title, he attempted to divide the dutchy of *Brittany* from the crown, and claim it to himself.

Cayet. T. 1. He had treated with the king of *Spain* by himself, who had sent him between four and five thousand men. The principal condition of the treaty was, that the duke should deliver up to the *Spaniards* the port of *Blavet*, now called *Port-Louis*, for a place of security, with leave to fortify it. He sent the duke troops so much the more willingly, as he laid claim himself to the dutchy of *Brittany*, by the daughter he had by *Elizabeth* of *France*, daughter of king *Henry* the second, and heiress, as he said, to the three last kings her brothers, especially for *Brittany*, because this dutchy, before



before its re-union with the crown of *France*, descended to the female. He look'd upon the entrance of his troops into the port of *Blavet*, as a taking possession of the dutchy of *Brittany*, where he did not despair of maintaining his ground by their means, notwithstanding the future dispute he was to have with the duke of *Mereœur*.

The duke, by the assistance of the *Spaniards*, had considerably the advantage, and recovered *Hennebon*, a place adjoining to the port of *Blavet*, which had been taken from him by the royalists. Several other enterprizes were undertook on both sides, which tho' little important in themselves, and carried on with different success, cost a great deal of blood, and laid waste all the plain country.

At the other end of the kingdom, the duke of *Savoy*, who had thrown off the mask, no longer disguised his pretensions, and rather made war against *France* than against the king. It was plainly seen, he had formed a design of making himself master of *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, and adding them to the usurpation he had made of the marquissate of *Saluces*.

*Lestiguieres* beat his troops in *Dauphiny* upon almost every occasion. He took *Briancon*, and some other places, from the league, and made himself master of *Grenoble*, after having block'd it up for a long time, and the government of it was conferred upon him by the king.

The duke of *Savoy* succeeded better in *Provence*, where, by the intrigues of *Dampierre*, and the counsellors of *Sault*, the parliament of *Aix* gave him the title of governor of the province. He made his entry into *Aix* on the eighteenth of *November*, and five days after went to parliament, where, being seated in the first place, the first president, in the name of the whole court, declared him governor and lieutenant-general of *Provence*, under the crown of *France*. For, from the time that anarchy was introduced into the kingdom by the league, 'twas necessary to find out some new form to express the unjust authority they gave to their chiefs. The duke took *Salon*, and some other small places, and called together the states of *Pro-*

A. D. 1590. *vence*, to meet at *Aix* in the month of *January* following.

This election of the duke of *Savoy* produced a third party. For the count of *Carces*, who was governor of the province for the league, seeing himself dispossessed by the duke, began, with his friends, to make a separate body, and by this means gave the king no small advantage.

Several attempts were made in *Auvergne*, *Langue-doc*, and some other provinces, which were all of very little importance; but the raising the siege of *Paris* re-kindled the courage of the leaguers at *Bourdeaux*. The mareschal *de Matignon* had occasion for all his prudence to moderate their zeal; he gained his point, and it was concluded to send deputies to the king, to remind him of the promise he had made to instruct himself in the business of religion. The deputies found his majesty at *Senlis*, and were well satisfied with his answer. In the mean while the mareschal introduces certain troops into *Bourdeaux*, to keep under the mutineers, and managed so well, that the parliament judged it convenient to allow the king time for his conversion, before they determined to join the league.

During the siege of *Paris*, there fell out an accident; which gave the heads of the league a great deal of disturbance: This was the death of the cardinal of *Bourbon*, whom the leaguers had named *Charles* the Tenth king of *France*, who died in his prison. This event principally embarrassed the duke of *Mayenne*, who from the time of the proclamation of this pretended king, had derived from him his office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and consequently it expired by his death: But so great was the madness of the league, that no body made any difficulty upon this article, and he continued in full possession of the power he held before.

There fell out also another incident of importance during the siege of *Paris*, and this was the death of pope *Sixtus* the fifth. This proved an unlucky affair for the king, as the pope had always condemned the league as, in his judgment, a vile combination, and which he only supported, during his popedom, as an evil that was necessary for the preservation

servation of religion in the kingdom. He had, for some time, given a favourable ear to the duke of *Luxembourg*, and there was cause to hope he would have entered into new measures to restore peace to *France*, as he hated the *Spaniards*, and was unwilling their power should encrease. A. D. 1590.

As the affairs of *France* then depended very much upon the pope's disposition, the two parties were very impatient to learn who should be chosen to succeed pope *Sixtus* the fifth. Cardinal *John Baptista Castanea* was raised to the sovereign pontificate, on the fifteenth of *September*, and took the name of *Urban* the seventh, but dying within thirteen days after, it was necessary to proceed to a new election, which fell on the fifteenth of *December* upon cardinal *Nicholas Sfondrati*, named *Gregory* the fourteenth: I shall begin the account of what happened in the year 1591, with this pope's conduct.

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The pope being born in the *Milaneze*, a subject of the king of *Spain*, and owing his advancement to the pontificate to his interest, gave himself entirely up to the *Spaniard*, and was directed in the affairs of *France* by cardinal *Cajetan*, who being tired of his long residence in this kingdom, took the occasion of *Sixtus* the fifth's death to return to *Rome*, and left at *Paris*, in his stead, *Philip Sega*, bishop of *Plaisance*, to act in the name of the holy see.

The pope immediately declared, he would spare neither pains, nor money, nor troops, nor bulls, to support the party of the league, notwithstanding the memorial which the duke of *Luxembourg*, who had left *Rome* before his advancement, had presented to the conclave, and another memorial he had addrest to him during his return, after he had been informed of his election.

The pope put in execution the promises he had made to the league. The money was delivered for the first month; the troops which were to march into *France*, under the command of the duke de *Monte Marciano*, were speedily raised, and the expence supplied out of the large treasures which *Sixtus* the Fifth had got together, with a design, as 'twas said, to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Naples*. He sent *Marcilio Landrano* into *France* with two monitory letters, the one for the



A. D. 1591. the clergy, whom he excommunicated and suspended, and declared degraded of all their benefices, it within a month's time they did not separate themselves from the king and his interest; the other was only menacing, and bore the same command to the princes, lords, and other subjects of the king. His majesty was, in both, declared an heretick relapsed, a persecutor of the church, excommunicated, and deprived of his kingdoms, and all other his dominions, &c.

These two monitories caused a deal of disturbance throughout all *France*, and were condemned to be burnt by the parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons*. They were followed with abundance of discourses for and against the pope's authority; and the king himself put out a declaration upon this subject at *Mante*, which was far more moderate than these decrees, as it was proper for him it should be. He there entred upon his own defence, and exposed to the whole kingdom of *France*, the violence and injustice with which he was treated at *Rome*.

The great number of tracts, which was then sent abroad on all sides, served only to increase the misunderstanding, and the war was carried on in all places this year, with the same fury as in the preceding.

The first attempt was made by the leaguers on the thirtieth of *January*. The count of *Belin*, whom the duke of *Nemours* had left governor of *Paris*, to go into his own province of the *Lyonnois*, undertook to surprize *S. Denis*. The chevalier d' *Aumale* was at the head of this expedition, which proved unsuccessful, and cost him his life.

The king, on his side, formed a design of a very different importance, which was to surprize *Paris* by the gate *Honore*. He caused sixty officers to be disguised like peasants, leading horses and carts, as the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages did, who came by night to bring corn to *Paris*, to avoid the dangers they might have met with in the day time. They all came to the *Fauxbourg* about three o'clock in the morning, as well the commanders in disguise, as the officers and soldiers who were to support them; but the count of *Belin*, upon information of certain movements of the royalist troops, had a suspicion of some design, and by the greatest happiness for him in the world,

world, had just barricaded the gate of *S. Honore*, and thrown a quantity of earth behind it; insomuch that when the men that led the carts and horses came thither, they were told, they could not pass any more through that gate, but must go to another, that lay near the river. The king saw plainly by this means, that the *Parisians* were upon their guard, and therefore as he could not change the disposition of his troops without noise, he retired. This night was called the *Corn-action*, from this accident, and was yearly kept by the *Parisians*, as a great holy-day, till the city was reduced to the king's obedience.

His majesty was more successful in the siege of *Chartres*, which he undertook, notwithstanding the rigour of the season. He gained his point, but not without much difficulty, and the loss of abundance of brave officers. The duke of *Mayenne* endeavour'd to make himself amends by the taking of *Chateau-Thierry*; but there was a deal of difference between these two towns, especially with relation to *Paris*.

These two sieges being ended, the armies were sent into quarters, to take a little rest, after a campaign which had lasted above a year, and in the severest part of winter.

The king having again taken the field, *du Rolet* governor of *Pont de l'Arche*, took *Louviers* from the leaguers, a town which was then very rich, and much more considerable than it is at present. Some time before, *Mouy Richebourg* had surrendered to him *Chateau Gaillard*, which was as the citadel of *Andeli* upon the *Seine*. *Chateau Gaillard* was one of the strongest places in all *France*. The king attacked *Noyon*, by the mareschal de *Biron*, who took the place, notwithstanding all the efforts of the leaguers to save it. The viscount of *Tavannes* attempting to throw himself into the town, was wounded, and taken. 'Twas surrendered in sight of the duke of *Mayenne*, who durst not hazard the battle the king was resolved to accept of.

'Twas during this siege, that the young duke of *Guise* escaped from his prison in the castle of *Tours*. 'Twas thought the king was not much displeased with his getting off, as he hoped the interest of the young duke would not be the same with that of his uncle,

A. D. 1591. uncle, which might be a means to produce a division in the party; and so in reality it fell out.

In civil wars, when a state is divided into two parties, it is not surprizing that new divisions should be formed in the parties themselves. These are difficulties, which the chiefs must unavoidably meet with, and were experienced by the king and the duke of *Mayenne* this very year.

The cardinal *Charles* of *Bourbon*, nephew to the cardinal of the same name who died the foregoing year in his prison of *Fontenay-le-Comte*, yielded to the temptation of desiring the throne. He was son to *Lewis* prince of *Conde*, who was slain at the battle of *Jarnac*, and the nearest the crown in this branch, after his nephew *Henry* of *Conde*, the second of the name, who was then but three years old, and was son to *Henry* the First, who was poisoned at *S. John d'Angeli*. Some catholick lords, who were dissatisfied with the delay of the king's conversion, put this design into the cardinal's head, and would have form'd a third party to raise him to the throne, in case the king should not be converted very speedily. The cardinal, who was then at *Tours*, began to treat with the pope at *Rome* upon this head. *Souvray*, governor of *Tours*, had knowledge of this intrigue, and gave notice of it to the king, who also received information from another hand. He formed some pretence to call the cardinal to court, and received him in the most agreeable manner imaginable. He took no notice to him of the matter, and being satisfied with having him in his power, and setting a strict guard over him, he judg'd it convenient to pass all over in silence, and by that means prevented the affair from being attended with any ill consequence.

But the case proved far otherwise in the division that had arose amongst the leaguers. The faction of the sixteen had regained the superiority ever since the siege of *Paris*. The great services they had done the league upon that occasion, had made their insolence to swell to an excess. They were supported by the *Spaniards* and the pope, and had proposed to the duke of *Mayenne*, the restoration of the council of union, the dissolution of which, had contributed very much to the loss of their credit. They were bent



bent upon shaking off his authority, and obliging him to an absolute submission to the king of *Spain*.

A. D.

1591.

They presented to him \* two memorials, one after another, which were filled with the most insolent articles, wherein they demanded amongst other things, that he should remove several magistrates from the parliament and other courts of justice, and give them another bishop besides the cardinal of *Gondi*, under pretence, that these were suspicious persons. They wrote a \* letter to the king of *Spain* to offer him the crown of *France*, and in case he would not accept it himself, they demanded of him the infant his daughter for queen, and besought him to choose her a husband; their intention was to make the choice fall upon the young duke of *Guise*: But they more particularly distinguished themselves by their audaciousness upon the following occasion.

\* Related by Cayet, T. 1. T. 2.

\* Dated the 21st of Sep. 1591.

They intercepted a letter, which was wrote by *Brigard* the king's attorney, in the *hotel de Ville*, to his uncle, who was at *S. Denis*, and in the royal party. *Brigard* was committed to custody upon this letter, and his death was earnestly solicited by the sixteen. But the parliament having examined the matter, and finding nothing very criminal in the letter, *Brigard* was cleared and delivered out of prison.

The sixteen, enraged at this decree, resolved to be revenged upon the person who made it, which was the sieur *Briffon*, who then discharged the office of first president, and conspired his death.

After several private assemblies held among themselves, *Bussy*, *Louchart*, *le Normand*, and *Anroux*, the most furious of the cabal, followed by several others, seized upon the president on the *Pont S. Michel*, and of their own authority carried him to the *Chatelet* on the fifteenth of *November*.

Not long after, they brought him by force to the chamber of the council, where *Cocheri*, *Crome* and some others being seated as judges, *Cocheri* took upon him to examine him, and in the mean while, they caused the sieur *Larcher*, counsellor in parliament, and the sieur *Tardif*, counsellor in the *Chatelet*, to be taken up. They were all three condemned to be hanged the same day. The sentence was executed in prison, and

A. D. and the next day their bodies were exposed upon  
1591. gibbets in the place of the *Greve*.

These horrible executions alarmed all the considerable families of *Paris*, who were apprehensive that this mad people, after such preludes, would pillage their houses, and cut their throats. Couriers after couriers were sent to the duke of *Mayenne*, who was then at *Laon*, and though much taken up with several affairs, that lay upon his hands, he set forward immediately, with the *sieur de Vitri*, and certain troops, and by great journeys came to *Paris*.

He made such haste, that the sixteen found him at the *gare S. Antoine*, before they were able to take any measures to prevent his entry into *Paris*, as they had projected.

As soon as he was arrived, he called an assembly at the *hotel de Ville*, whither the principal of the sixteen came, with several magistrates, and some of the most considerable of the towns-men. Some entered upon their own defence; and others made complaints, and demanded justice. The duke, dissembling for the present, thought fit only to blame the rashness of those who had part in these disorders, and said, he would take care to prevent the like mismanagement for the future, and even upon his departure thence, had some of the sixteen to sup with him at the *Louvre*.

But in the middle of the night, M. *de Vitri*, after having taken all necessary precautions, seized upon *Anrouz*, *Emonot*, *Hameline*, and *Louchart*, and carried them to the *Louvre*, where they were hanged upon a beam in the lower hall. *Bussy-le-Clerc*, to save his life, put the *Bastile*, of which he was governor, into the duke's hands, and retired to *Brusselles*. Some others were taken up; but *Cocheri* and *Crome*, who were most guilty, made their escape.

The duke, after this example, pardoned the rest, published an \* act of indemnity, out of which *Cocheri* and *Crome* were only excepted, and forbid, that particular assemblies should ever after be called together, and especially by the sixteen, under pain of death. But whatever the duke of *Mayenne* could do, there were still three parties at *Paris*; his own, that of the royalists,

\* Dated the  
10th of Dec.  
1591.

royalists or politiques (for so they were called) and that of the sixteen and the *Spaniards*.

A. D.  
1591.

This act of justice in the duke, joined to his prudence and resolution in the conduct of so nice an affair, gained him a deal of honour; but after all, the advantage lay on the king's side; for the royalist party mightily increased and gathered strength, as well on account of these disorders, as because they were tired with the length of the civil war, and the increase of foreign troops in the kingdom, which was a grievance in the wars of the late reign. For from the beginning of the year, it had been resolved on both sides, to make use of the fatal expedient of a foreign support.

The duke of *Monte-Marciano*, the pope's nephew, came to *Verdun* about the end of *September*, at the head of seven thousand men, partly *Italians* and part *Swisses* of the catholick cantons, besides three thousand others, which the duke of *Parma* sent to the assistance of the league, who were already entered *France* on the side of the *Alps*. The king on his side, was assisted with money and ammunition by the queen of *England*, and an army of six thousand men, and by the protestant princes of *Germany*. The *German* army arrived upon the frontiers at the same time the *Italian* troops came to *Verdun*, and advanced as far as *Vendi* upon the river of *Aisne*.

The king took a review of them, and found them to be in very good order. He returned to *Sedan* the eleventh of *October*, to celebrate the marriage of *Charlotte de la Mark*, lady of *Sedan* and *Bouillon*, with the viscount of *Turenne*, who surprized *Stenay* on his wedding night, and the king made him marshal of *France* the next year. I take notice of this circumstance, by reason of a mistake in a \* modern author, who will have the marshal's staff given to the viscount before his marriage. The king, says he, honoured him with the staff of a marshal of *France*, that he might not appear unequal to the alliance. A reflection as certainly false, as it is injurious to the house of *la Tour d'Auvergne*.

Mezeray.

After several marches and countermarches, to keep the enemy in disquiet, the royal army set forwards toward several parts of *Normandy*, and the design which



*A. D.* 1591. which the king had long thought of, was at last made publick. This was the siege of *Roan*, which the marshal *de Biron* encompassed on *S. Martin's* day. The king came thither on the twenty-fourth of *November*, having learnt by the way, that *Rubempre* had taken by surprize from the leaguers, saint *Esprit de Rue*, which was then a very strong town, between the rivers of *Somme* and *Anthie*.

The siege of *Roan* was one of the most famous, which fell out during the civil wars, as well for the resistance of the besieged, as for the great events it occasioned.

Towards the *South*, the town is fenced by the river *Seine*, which in that place is very broad and very deep, and on the *North* it is surrounded by mountains, which command it. The highest and most *Eastern*, is the mountain of *S. Catherine*, which passes directly through it from one end to the other; for which reason they had built a fort upon it, called the fort of *S. Catherine*. This was the principal defence of the town; for if the fort was once taken, the place could not long hold out, and therefore the attack begun on that side, and the trench was opened against the fort.

In the beginning of the siege, *Villars* had placed there to defend it, *Aimard de Chatte*, sieur de *Jessan*, who was killed upon the spot. The sieur de *Bois-Rose*, who was put in his place, having his leg broke by a musket shot, was succeeded by the chevalier *Picard*. These three commanders did wonders by their frequent and vigorous sallies; nor could any one better guard against the enemies attempts. The trenches were filled up and recovered several times. The king upon these occasions was often present at the attack, and every four days he mounted the trench, like a common general officer; but notwithstanding all the care of the marshal *de Biron*, and the activity of the king, the siege went very slowly on, by the vigour and vigilance of the besieged; and the enemy had not been able to make themselves masters of the counterscarpe of the fort by the end of the year 1591. As this siege lasted great part of the next year: I shall here break off the relation, and resume it when I have told what passed elsewhere.

After

After the league were become masters of *Poitiers*, a little before the death of *Henry* the third, and the party of the king his successor, had gained the superiority in *Touraine*, *Anjou* and *Maine*, the neighbouring provinces of the *Loire* became the theatre of the war, not because there were any great bodies of troops there, but the nobility and gentry being divided, were continually in the field, at the head of several small bodies, and mutual victories were gained, and losses sustained.

The prince of *Conti* entered *Poitou*, took *Mauleon*, and after having beat the viscount *de la Guerche*, attacked *Montmorillon*, whither the viscount's troops had retreated, forced the place, and cut off twelve hundred soldiers, made several captains prisoners, and took fifteen colours and three cannons.

The duke of *Mercoeur* sent from *Brittany* a supply of eight hundred *Spaniards* to the viscount, who having joined them with some other troops, went in search of the prince of *Conti*; but having learn'd that *Salerne*, governor of *Loches*, had surprized his castle of *la Guerche* upon the river *Creuse*, he bent his course that way. The sieurs *d'Abin* and *de la Roche-Posai* of the king's party, being informed of his march, went to meet him with five hundred horse and defeated him. He threw himself into a ferry boat, with hopes to make his escape over the river *Creuse*; but the boat being too much loaded with the great number of those who leaped in after him, sunk to the bottom, and the viscount with all his company was drowned. Above eight hundred foot were lost in this defeat, and among the rest, five hundred *Spaniards* and one hundred and fifty gentlemen. The prince of *Conti* then took *Mirebeau*, and after that *Selles* and *Menetou* in *Berry*. On the other side, the duke of *Nemours* brought under subjection to the league, certain small places in the *Lyonnois*, in the principality of *Dombes*, and in the *Bourbonnois*.

The mareschal *d'Aumont* had a more unsuccessful campaign than the prince of *Conti*; he was obliged to raise the siege of *Autun*, after an assault, where he lost abundance of his men. He was again unfortunate at the castle of *Chalons*, which he expected to have taken by surprize.

A. D. 1591. The duke of *Montpensier* in *Normandy*, took *Avanches* after a very long siege. The chevalier de *Cril-lon* surprized *Honfleur*, a sea-port town in the same province, which was a considerable loss to the king.

In *Limousin*, the viscount de *Pompadour*, governor of the province for the league, defeated the count of *Rocheaucault* with a great slaughter. This count, *Chateau-Neuf*, *la Coste-Mesieres*, and several other gentlemen and soldiers, were slain upon the spot.

A short time after, the royal party had their revenge in *le Querci*. *Ponce de Lausiere*, sieur de *The-mines*, seneschal of the province, and afterwards marshal of *France*, placed himself at the head of a body of royalists with the duke of *Vantadour*, attack'd the leaguers, whom he defeated in two battles, in the last of which they lost twelve hundred men and all their baggage.

The duke of *Epernon* returning from his government of *Boulogne*, was attack'd by *Magnieu*, governor of *Montreuil*, and by the duke d'*Aumale* at the passage of the river *Authie*, when he did not in the least expect it. The duke however, though surprized, made so good a defence, that he defeated the leaguers, and took *Magnieu* prisoner, with several of his principal officers. He attempted, by the way, to storm the castle of *Pierrefond*; but having received a musket-shot through the check, he gave over the enterprize.

Thus the *French*, bent upon their own destruction, destroyed one another in all the provinces; but the war was carried on with still greater violence in *Dauphiny*, *Provence* and *Brittany*.

In this last province, the duke of *Merccœur* having received the supply of four thousand *Spaniards* I spoke of, made several detachments against the royalists, one of which, commanded by *S. Laurent*, was cut to pieces by the marquis de *Cet-Quen* his father-in-law. He was also repulsed at *Maletroit*, where he made an attack.

In the mean while, the prince of *Dombes* governor of *Brittany* for the king, having received a supply of two thousand five hundred *English*, made himself master of the isle of *Brebac*, and took *Guincamp*.



'Twas about this time, that the *sieur de la Noue*, who was sent by the king to command under the prince of *Dombes*, and assist him with his counsels, arrived in *Brittany* with his troops. He began by laying siege to *Lambale*. As he was preparing to give the assault, being mounted upon a ladder, to take a view of the breach and the posture of the enemy, after having considered all, he made a sign with his right hand to the troops to advance to the attack. But in the instant, a musket-ball having grazed on his forehead, and turned his head, the sudden motion made him stagger, and as he had no other hold of the ladder than by an iron arm which was fastned to his shoulder (for he had formerly lost his left arm at the siege of *Fontenay le Comte*) he fell down, and with such violence, that he crack'd his scull; and died within fifteen days after. By this accident the attack was suspended, and the siege raised.

The king expressed himself very sensible of this loss, which was one of the greatest that could have befallen him. He was not only one of the best warriors of his time; but even by the confession of his enemies and the *Spaniards*, to whom he was very formidable, and the consent of the whole court, he was one of the honestest men in the kingdom. There fell out nothing of any great moment in *Brittany* after his death. What past on the side of the *Alps*, was most important.

The duke of *Savoy* having prevailed upon the parliament of *Provence*, to own him as lieutenant-general in that country, under the crown of France, undertook the discharge of the employment, and begun by holding the states at *Aix*, where regulations were made for exterminating, as he said, the hugonots and their abettors.

Bouche Hist.  
de Prov. T. 2,  
l. 10.

*La Valette* on the other side, as governor of the province for the king, call'd a convocation also of the states at *Riex*, where like measures and precautions were taken against the invasion of the duke of *Savoy*, and deputies were sent to the king to inform him of the state of affairs.

The countess of *Sault*'s interest introduced the duke of *Savoy* into *Marseilles*, and he was also received at *Arles*. The duke observing that all things succeeded

*A. D.* according to his wish, resolved to pass into *Spain*, to  
 1591. solicit that court, to second him in the enterprize he  
 had made in concert with them.

*La Valette*, for want of troops, could not prevent the insurrection of the principal towns of *Provence*, and he waited with impatience for *Lefdiguieres*, who had promised to bring him all the soldiers he could draw out of *Dauphiny*. He came at last, and being joined by *la Valette*, they, together, took the small town of *Vinon*, marched to revictual the fort of *Berre*, which the leaguers had blocked up, and where the *sieur de Mesple*s found himself much pressed for want of provisions.

They learn'd, during their march, that the count *Martinengue*, lieutenant general of the duke of *Savoy*, was upon the road with a thousand horse and two thousand harquebusiers on foot, and they hastened their march to surprize him. They succeeded so well, that they killed him five hundred of his men, took one thousand prisoners, and routed the rest. They then threw their convoy into the fort of *Berre*, and *Lefdiguieres* returned into *Dauphiny*, where *Gouvernet*, who commanded in his absence, took the impregnable fortress of *Mecillon*.

Guichenon  
 Hist. de Sa-  
 voye.

*Martinengue*, upon the departure of *Lefdiguieres*, got together the scattered part of his army, and very closely shut up the fort of *Berre*, expecting the return of the duke of *Savoy*, to besiege it in form. The duke was not long absent; he returned from *Spain* in the month of *July*, and landed at *Marseilles* with fifteen galleys of *Spanish* infantry. This supply gave him an opportunity of laying siege to *Berre*, which was surrendered to him by capitulation, on the twenty-second of *August*.

The conquest of this fort, which was situated upon the sea coast not far from *Aix* and *Marseilles*, was very considerable, but proved the ruin of the duke of *Savoy's* affairs in *Provence*. The refusal he made of it to the countess of *Sault*, who demanded the government of it for the *sieur de Besaudun*, and the salt-pits for herself, offended her to so great a degree, that she resolved to treat with the king by the mediation of *la Valette*, and ingaged the duke to the siege of the fort of *Puech*, where she hoped he would ruin  
 his

his army : But she was very near being taken in the same net she had laid ; the duke of *Savoy* having some suspicions of her designs, was resolved to carry her off, and send her to the castle of *Nice* ; she found means to elude the guard he had set upon her, and escaped to *Marseilles*, where she became secure with her son *Charles de Crequi*.

These disorders gave the duke of *Savoy* the more uneasiness, as he had lately received a dreadful misfortune in *Dauphiny*. *Lefdiguieres* was upon his road returning into *Provence*, when he received a courier from the sieur de *Morges* his nephew, which informed him, that the pope's army that was lately come into *France* to the assistance of the league, seem'd to bend their course towards *Dauphiny* ; that at the same time the *Spanish* general *Olivera*, who was leading betwixt eight and nine hundred men into *Flanders*, and *Amedeus* of *Savoy*, the duke's bastard brother, at the head of six companies of carabines, drew near to *Grenoble*.

This news brought back *Lefdiguieres*, who being joined with some other troops, marched strait to *Grenoble*. The pope's army continued their rout towards *Franche-Comte* ; but the *Spaniards* and *Savoyards* approached *Morestel*, in order to besiege it. The troops *Lefdiguieres* had got together, were not half so many as those of the enemy ; however, he marched after them, and immediately at his approach, they gave over the design of the siege : He pursued them, and forced them to come to a battle, attacked and defeated them, killed near two thousand five hundred of their men, made nine hundred prisoners, took thirty-two colours, a standard, and a cornet. The attack was so violent, that the battle did not last full a quarter of an hour, and *Lefdiguieres* did not lose forty of his soldiers.

Nor was this all, the marquis of *Bellejoyeuse* commanded two thousand men in the castles of *Bayard* and *Avalon*, not far from the field of battle : *Lefdiguieres* besieged him, and obliged him to surrender at discretion. The marquis remained a prisoner, and the soldiers had leave to go back to their own homes without their arms, after having taken an oath, that they would never serve against *France*.



A. D.

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This victory was attended with the taking of *Barcelonnette*, from whence *Lesdiguieres* returning into *Provence*, assisted *la Valette* in the taking of *Digne*, whilst the duke of *Savoy* was ruining his troops at the siege of *Pueche*, which the *fieur de S. Canat*, who commanded in the place, obliged him to raise on the seventh of *November*.

Bouche Hist.  
de Provence,  
l. 10.

This duke, to regain his reputation, attempted to recover *Vinon*. *Mesples* defended himself there with courage, and gave time to *Lesdiguieres* to come to his succour. Upon his arrival, he beat the duke again, took his cannon and baggage, but night coming on, the routed army found means to escape. Thus ended the year 1591 in *Provence*, in a very different manner from the foregoing, when the duke entered the country, as it were, in triumph, and looked upon it as almost already conquered.

The king, that he might keep the duke of *Savoy* employed another way, revived the war which the people of *Geneva* had declared upon him. He sent *Sancy* and *Guirry* into those quarters, who were followed by certain troops they found means to raise, and being joined by the *Genevois*, they took several places from the duke, and returned to *France*.

To return to the duke of *Mayenne* and the siege of *Roan*; Though it proceeded by very slow degrees, by reason of the excellent defence which was made by the besieged, it still gave him a deal of uneasiness. The pope's death at this juncture, was a great inconvenience; for by this means the duke of *Monte Marciano* was no longer in a condition to retain the troops of the holy see, which made up a considerable part of the army of the league.

Cardinal *John Antony Fackinetti* was advanced to the pontifical throne, and began his government, by sending orders to the duke of *Monte Marciano* to disband his foot, if the duke of *Parma* was not entered *France* by the fifteenth of *December*, in order to raise the siege of *Roan*: and indeed he did disband them, but the *Spaniards* lifted the most part of them again under their pay.

*Fackinetti*, who had taken the name of *Innocent* the ninth, dying about two months after, *Hyppolitus Aldobrandinus* was raised to the chair of *S. Peter*, under  
the

the name of *Clement* the eighth. He pursued immediately the same designs with *Gregory* the fourteenth, and promised the leaguers both a supply of money and troops. A. D.  
1591.

The prince of *Parma* was continually solicited to return into *France*, and execute the orders he had received from *Spain*, to spare nothing to raise the siege of *Roan*. He set forward at last, about the end of *December*, and was joined at *Guise* by the duke of *Mayenne*.

The next day they went to encamp at *la Fere*, and it was there they began to enter upon business; and consider not only of means to raise the siege of *Roan*; but withal upon the capital point of electing a catholick king, upon assembling the states general of the kingdom, and upon the acknowledgments the king of *Spain* expected for the great succours he had hitherto supply'd them with.

This negotiation was committed by the duke of *Mayenne* to the president *Janin*, and by the prince of *Parma* to the president *Richardo* and *Dom-Diego d'Ibarra*. The latter presently explained themselves upon the pretensions of the king of *Spain*, and required that the crown should be adjudged to the infant *Isabella* his daughter, by marrying her to some catholick prince who should be chosen king. *Janin* foreseeing that if he rejected the proposition, they must no longer hope for any assistance in the affair of *Roan*, seemed readily to come into it; but he added, As the *Salick* law, which was the fundamental law of the kingdom, was to be broke through upon this occasion, it would be necessary to take several precautions, which amounted to the having this alteration authorized by the states of the realm, to have a powerful army to support it, and lastly, to disburse large sums of money in gaining over the governors of places to his interest, with those members of the states who had most authority.

This prudent minister expected that the king of *Spain's* inability to answer his demands, would disconcert all his majesty's projects. He was not ignorant that the prince of *Parma* had but little money, and he saw that he wanted troops; for the army he had brought consisted not of more than ten thousand men;

A. D. 1591. and, lastly, he foresaw great difficulties in assembling the estates, upon account of the war.

Several other conferences were held, both at the camp at *la Fere* and in their march to *Roan*; for the duke of *Mayenne* had at last obtained of the prince of *Parma*, that the negotiation should not retard the succour of *Roan*. But he did not consent to this point, except upon condition, that he should leave a very strong *Spanish* garison in *la Fere*, both to secure his retreat, and to guard his heavy artillery, which he had put into that place; and the duke of *Mayenne* was obliged, against his inclination, to accept of the condition.

The siege of *Roan* made no great advances, by reason of the obstinate defence of the besieged; however there were fought a great many battles, and bloody ones too. The counterscarp of the fort of *S. Catherine* had been carried a few days before; but the besieged recovered it. The royalists made themselves masters of it the second time, and were again driven from it the eighth of *February*.

Memoires de  
Sully, T. 1.  
c. 34.

Cayer, T. 2.

A. D. 1592

In the mean while, the approach of the succours, laid the king under great uneasiness, and that he might, of himself, be informed what rout the enemies army took, and what was the condition of their troops, he left his camp with four thousand *French* horse, as many reisters, and one thousand harquebusiers on horseback, and committed the whole care of the siege to the marshal de *Biron*.

Memoires de  
Duplessis  
Mortay, T. 2.

As soon as the king approached the enemy's army, there passed frequent and furious skirmishes, where the king was always present, and had very much the advantage. The hottest action was at the town of *Bures*, where the king beat up the quarters of the duke of *Guise*, and had like to have carried him off.

This blow, which the duke of *Guise* had received, made the prince of *Parma* march with greater precaution than ever. The king was less careful, and it had like to have cost him his life. When he drew near *Aumale*, he pass'd the bridge with four hundred horse and five hundred harquebusiers on horseback, to take a nearer view of the enemy. He sent *Givry* before with his scouts, and followed him with the rest, attended by thirty of the bravest lords and gentlemen in

his  
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his army. He marched two leagues without meeting *A. D.* any thing, till arriving at last in a plain, and the *1592.* weather being very fair, *Givry* let him know, that he saw the enemy's army approaching in good order. The king took a view of it himself, and finding it was in vain to attempt any thing, he went back the same way he came: He ordered three hundred of his horse to pass the bridge, and kept only one hundred with himself, and commanded the harquebusiers to line the hedges and ditches about *Aumale*, to support him in his retreat, if there should be occasion.

In the mean while, the *Spanish* army advanced forward, and stopp'd but very little short of the king's squadron. The prince of *Parma* judged it convenient to make an halt in that place; as not doubting but all the *French* cavalry, which was much better than his, was come up; but when some of his detach'd horse, who were scattered upon the neighbouring hills, had told him this was the only squadron on this side the river, and that they appeared to be a very small body, he charged them in such manner with several of his squadrons, that the king and his company were driven into the valley.

His majesty thought to find there his harquebusiers, who were to have sustained him, and stopped the enemy by their fire, as he had ordered; but he found only very few of them. However he rallied his troop, made head and stood firm, and in a moment cryed with a loud voice, *Charge! Charge!* At this cry the enemies, who were apprehensive of an ambuscade, stood still, as being persuaded that the neighbouring houses and hedges were lined with infantry; but as they saw, that after the discharge of fifty or sixty muskets they shot off no more, they pursued their point, and pressed the king very close, who had made use of that small time the enemies stood still, to repass the bridge with his horse, and himself had tarried at the other end to prevent the disorder of the retreat. He there received a musket shot in his reins for want of a cuirasse; but by good fortune, the ball did no more than graze on the skin. He lost fifty of his horse, and two hundred harquebusiers, who were cut off. The viscount de *Paulini*, and the sieurs de la *Chapelle* and de *Besan-cour* were slain, and *Givry* wounded in a street of *Aumale*.

*A. D.* 1592. The king having repassed the bridge, put himself at the head of his troop, and in so good a posture, that the duke of *Parma* fearing always to engage too far, founded a retreat, to prevent his men from passing the bridge. So true it is, that a well supported rashness is some times successful, and too much prudence disappoints the most essential and decisive blows; for the king had been lost, if the *Spanish* army had attempted to force their passage.

After this excursion, the king drew near to *Dieppe*, and the prince of *Parma* continued his march to *Roduz* by very small journies; but in the mean while, on the twenty-seventh of *February*, the king received very disagreeable news relating to the siege, which made both him and the enemy take other measures.

*Villars* being desirous to have the glory of raising the siege, independantly of foreign assistance, on the twenty-sixth of *February*, made a salley of four thousand two hundred men by the fort of *S. Catherine*. It was so well concerted, and carried on from the beginning to the end, that it threw the whole camp into disorder. All who were found in the trenches were slain. The trench itself was in great measure filled up. Two pieces of ordnance were nailed down, and five were dragged by force of mens arms as far as into the fosses of the fort. *Bois-Rose*, who was the author of the enterprize, pushed as far as the place where the artillery lay, and carried off the powder. And all this was executed with so much dispatch, that the mareschal de *Biron*, who was at a great distance from that quarter, could not be present soon enough to put a stop to the fury. The retreat was made with all imaginable order. The besieged in this action, lost no more than forty men, and cut off five hundred of the besiegers, in which number were the marquis d' *Epinay*, and the two brothers de *Piles*. Colonel *Boece* was taken prisoner.

This defeat put the besieged into a condition of holding out yet a good while longer: Insomuch that the prince of *Parma* was content with throwing eight hundred men into the place, and returned back to take up his quarters beyond the river *Somme*, to repose his troops. About a month after, he spread a report of his returning into the *Low-Countries*, to oppose the new designs of count *Maurice*; but having speedily got together

together his army, he passed the *Somme* at the head of twelve thousand foot and five thousand horse, marched thirty leagues in four days, and came within a league of *Roan* on the one and twentieth day of *April*.

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The mareschal *de Biron* finding himself surprized, and not having sufficient troops to defend his intrenchment, had no other way than to raise the siege, and post himself at *Bans*, a village upon the road to *Pont de l'Arche*. The king, who was gone to *Dieppe*, upon advice of some intelligence which the enemy held there, came the night following to the camp, and dispatch'd couriers into all the country, with orders to the nobility and his other troops, to march immediately to join him.

'Twas thus that *Roan* was intirely delivered, and *Villars* began to taste in quiet, the glory of his brave defence. The duke of *Mayenne* and the prince of *Parma* thinking to make the best advantage of the opportunity, resolved to attack *Caudebec* upon the *Seine*, and open a passage between *Roan* and *Havre*. They took the place; but the duke of *Parma* having raised a battery upon the bank of the river to keep off the *Dutch* vessels, which fired upon his camp, received a musket shot in the right arm, between the hand and the elbow, where the ball fixed, and made him a long time dangerously ill.

At the same time, the prince was informed that the king and his army drew near. This gave him a great deal of uneasiness, and with great reason. It is certain that this general, contrary to his custom, by entering the country of *Caux*, had committed one of the most egregious mistakes in war that could possibly have happened. This country is a kind of peninsula, formed to the left by the *Seine* towards *Caudebec*; the river is there very broad on the right, and at the point 'tis determined by the sea, so that from *Caudebec* to the opposite shore, there is no more than eleven or twelve leagues in breadth.

The king, therefore, having assembled his army much sooner than the prince of *Parma* had expected, used such diligence, that upon the twenty-ninth of *April*, which was four days after the taking of *Caudebec*, he came within half a league of *Ivetot*, where the army of the league lay incamped, resolving to oppose their



A. D. 1592. their return, and either force them to a battle, or starve them in a country that could not long supply them with provision.

The armies being so near to each other, there pass'd every day very warm skirmishes, and attacks of quarters and posts, which being vigorously assaulted and as bravely defended, were the cause of a deal of blood-shed. The prince of *Parma* decamp'd to draw near *Caudebec*, as well for the convenience of water, as because these quarters had suffered less than the rest. The king followed him, and so closely shut him up, that he had no other means of escape, but by falling upon the king's army, and gaining the town of *Roan* or *Picardy*, after a defeat; but this was to expose all to the utmost hazard, as his army was much lessened and weakned by sickness and famine, whereas the king's, on the other hand, was in good order, had an easy supply of provision, and the advantage of forage: but great commanders find remedies where others are put to a stand, and their ability stands most distinguished in such dangerous circumstances, where all means of safety seem to be despaired of.

Besides the reasons I have mentioned, which had determined the prince of *Parma* to draw near *Caudebec*, he had still another design which he kept very secret, and this was to cross the *Seine*, and thereby extricate himself from the unhappy circumstances in which he was involved. The river was so very broad, that to effect this, was very difficult, and it was owing to this difficulty, which was look'd on as an impossibility, that he made his escape; for the king had, for this reason, made no provision to prevent it.

The prince of *Parma* had drawn together a number of boats from *Roan*, which came at the time appointed for the return of the army, with anchors, beams, planks, cables and other necessary furniture ready to be put together, to build a bridge, which was actually made upon the twenty-second of *May*, without the king's knowing one word of the matter, or having the least suspicion of it, till after the van-guard, the main body of the army, and most part of the artillery and baggages were cross'd over. He presently run to the neighbouring hills, from whence he saw his prey escape him with a deal of regret. He gave orders to bring the

the cannon ; but it was too late. *Ranuce Farnese* son to the prince of *Parma*, was already passed with the rear-guard, and had set fire to the bridge, and suffered the boats to be carried down by the current of the river.

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This retreat was deservedly looked on as a prodigy, and one of the most extraordinary actions which had been wrought by *Alexander* of *Parma* during the war. But it must be owned, that its success was one of the greatest instances of good fortune imaginable, and for which he was no less indebted to the negligence of his enemy, than to his own skill and dexterity. After his passage, he made a very swift march, and had but four encampments between *Caudebec* and *S. Clou*, nor did he stop to give his troops any rest, till he was come to *Chateau-Thierre*, from whence he continued his march into the *Low-Countries*.

The king's vexation for this sorrowful event, was attended with a necessity of breaking his army ; for the *English* and *Dutch* troops that were in it, demanded leave to depart, the term of their service being expired. The *Swisses* and *reisters*, who were unpaid, refused to march, unless part of what was due, should be given to them, which the king was not then in a condition of doing, having been always ill served by the collectors of his revenues. His design was to gain speedily the *Pont-de-l'Arche*, in order to pass the *Seine* there, and send before him four or five thousand horse, who might march fast enough to come up with the prince of *Parma*, before he should get to *Paris*, and oblige him to proceed more slowly, till his whole army should arrive, who might easily out-march the *Spaniards*, that were already half destroyed by famine, fatigues and sickness ; but besides what I have said of the foreign soldiers, there were several lords of the council who did not desire to see the league destroyed, before the king was converted, and these opposed his majesty's design, how reasonable soever it appear'd to be, and in reality was.

Thus he was obliged to act in the same manner he had done before he raised the siege of *Paris*, that is, disband one part of his army, put another into quarters of refreshment, and after having paid a certain sum to the *Swisses* and the *Germans*, not reserve to himself above  
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five or six thousand foot, and three thousand horse, with whom he marched into *Champagne*, and closely pursued the duke of *Parma*; but was not able to do him any great mischief.

In the mean while, the private negotiations between the king and the duke of *Mayenne* went on, and M. *Villeroy* was the constant mediator on the duke's part, and M. *Du Plessis-Mornay* on the king's. The secret was not long kept undiscovered, and came to the ears of the *Spaniards*, who used their utmost efforts, and made all imaginable offers to the duke of *Mayenne*, to draw him from this correspondence. The duke finding the business disclosed, made it no longer a secret; but to prevent any farther quarrels with the *Spaniards* and the rest of his party, he protested, which indeed was true, that he had assured the king, he would come into no conclusion, without the consent of the pope and the other princes, who favoured his cause. But as these negotiations did then produce no effect, I shall pass them over, till I have related what fell out this present year 1592, in the different provinces of the kingdom, where sometimes one party prevailed, and sometimes another.

In the month of *May* the prince of *Conti* laid siege to *Craon*, a small town upon the borders of *Anjou*. The duke of *Merœur* came to succour it, and gave the prince an intire defeat. Between one thousand and twelve hundred soldiers were slain, and the cannon, baggage, and most of the colours and ensigns were taken. The duke made himself master of *Château-Gontier* and *Laval* over and above; this defeat inspired fresh courage into the leaguers of this country, who, before, had hardly dared to shew their heads. The king sent the marshal *d'Aumont* to command in *Brittany*, instead of the prince of *Dombes*, whom he recalled to attend him. He gave him not long after the government of *Normandy*, which was vacant by the death of the duke of *Montpensier* his father.

The marshal *d'Aumont* upon his arrival in *Brittany*, took the town of *Mayenne*, and raised the siege of *Rockfort*, at the approach of the duke of *Merœur*.

The king had begun to fortify *Quillebeauf*, a village upon the *Seine*, between *Roan* and *Havre*. *Villars*, governor



vernor of *Roan*, whom this new place would much incommode, went to attack it, and rase the fortifications. *M. de Bellegarde*, grand escuyer of *France*, who was there when he sat down before it, had the courage, or rather rashness to defend it, seconded by a few soldiers and some gentlemen, who cast themselves into it. He sustained an assault, defended himself thirteen days, and gave time for succour to arrive, which *Villars* durst not tarry for, and was therefore obliged to retire. The grand escuyer went from thence to join the king in *Champagne*, where the mareschal *de Biron* had laid siege to *Espernay*, which the prince of *Parma* had taken upon his return into the *Low-Countries*. The town was taken, but it cost mareschal *Biron* his life, who had his head carried off by a cannon-shot, as he was about to take a view of the place. The death of so great a man paid dear for so small a victory.

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On the side of the *Meuse*, the mareschal *de Bouillon* defeated *d'Amblise*, grand mareschal of *Lorraine*, who laid siege to *Beaumont*, some leagues from *Sedan*; seven hundred *Lorrainers* were left dead upon the place, and the general himself was slain among the rest. The king, by way of acknowledgment for so brave an action, presented the mareschal *de Bouillon* with almost all the artillery he had taken. He received two wounds in the fight.

The arms of the league were equally unsuccessful in *Languedoc*. The duke of *Joyeuse* commanded in that province a small army of five thousand foot, and between seven and eight hundred horse. He had performed several very vigorous actions in the beginning of the campaign. He had defeated two regiments of the royalists, and taken several small places; but being sat down before the town of *Villemur*, the noblesse of the king's party fell upon him, and beat him, and killed two thousand of his men, and as himself was attempting to escape by swimming his horse over the river *Tarn*, he was drowned in the passage. He was the third of this house that had fallen in the service of the league, and was the only one remaining of the five brothers, except the cardinal and the count *de Bouchage*, who was a capuchin.

The people of *Toulouse*, who, next to the *Parisians*, were the most zealous for the league of any in the kingdom,

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dorn, besought the cardinal to put himself at the head of the league in *Languedoc*, and upon his refusal made an extravagant resolution of taking his other brother from among the capuchins. In short, he quitted the habit some time after, by the pope's dispensation, who translated him to the order of *Malta*, that he might resume the helmet and cuirasse, and the title of duke of *Joyeuse*. This defeat was the most memorable action which passed on that side; but the greatest efforts of the war, after those which were wrought in *Normandy* between the king and the great army of the league, were not far from the *Alps* in *Dauphiny* and *Provence*.

*Arles* revolted against the duke of *Savoy*, and drove out the *Savoyard* garrison, but still remained in the party of the league. On the other side, *la Valette* besieged *Roquebrune*, and was killed by a musket shot. The place was taken notwithstanding his death, but it gave occasion to new insurrections of importance in *Provence*.

This general had put *Gascon* officers to command in almost all places under the king's obedience. These made very pressing instances to his majesty, that the duke of *Espernon* might succeed to *la Valette* his brother, in the command of the troops, and they addressed themselves in such manner, that there was cause to apprehend if they were refused, they would give up their town to the league, as *Maugiron* had lately done *Vienne*, of which he was governor, who, for some discontent he received from court, gave up that place to the duke of *Nemours*. This obliged *Lesdiguières* to return into *Dauphiny*, from whence he was come into *Provence*, upon the news of *la Valette*'s death, and had begun to fall foul upon the leaguers. The king, therefore, named the duke of *Espernon* general of his troops in *Provence* against his inclination.

He came thither, in the month of *August*, with an army of ten thousand men: Several gentlemen, upon his arrival, left the league, and the countess of *Sault*, who, as I have said, had quarrelled with the duke of *Savoy*, presented to him the young *M. de Crequy* her son, and desired his consent, that he might serve the king under his command.

The first expedition of the duke of *Espernon* was the taking of *Montauxroux*, where there was a garrison of nine hundred *Savoyards*. Having taken it at discretion, he hung up fourteen captains, and sent five hundred soldiers to the galleys. He treated the *Savoyards*, whom he found in the castle of *Antibes*, almost in the same manner, after having made himself master of the *Tower* by capitulation. His design, by this extreme severity, was to take from the *Savoyards* all inclination to enter, or continue, in *Provence*; but *Lestiguieres* took a more effectual method, by carrying the war into *Piedmont* itself.

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l. 4. Bouche Hist. de Prov.

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He enter'd the country, with great difficulty, and made himself master of *Perouze*, and block'd up the castle, till his cannon should arrive. The sieurs *de Poet*, and *Blanien*, who commanded one of his detachments, carried the *Fauxbourg* of *Suze*; but the cannon of the castle obliged them to retire. *Lestiguieres* attempted to carry *Pignerol* by scalade, and was repulsed, but he made himself master of the castle of *Osasque*, which is near it; of the tower of *Luserne*, and the fort of *Mirebouc*. The castle of *Perouze* surrendred upon the playing the cannon. He then fortified the village of *Briqueras*, and by the taking of these posts, secured a communication between *Piedmont* and *Dauphiny*. He forced the camp of *Vigon*, where some militia of the country were assembled, under the sieur *de Bruniquet*, who was there slain. On the other side, the sieur *de Poet*, with his detachment, carried *Chateau-Dauphin*; and the villages of *Luserne*, *Angrogne*, and *Perouze*, submitted to the king, and took an oath of fidelity to him.

*Lestiguieres* observing the consternation which ran through all the country, ventured to attack *Cabours*, of which the castle, being planted upon a rock, was very difficult to be taken. The siege lasted several days, during which the duke of *Savoy* deliberated whether he should go to succour it at the hazard of a battle? He judg'd it convenient to desist, but marched with his army before *Briqueras*; and here he was vigorously repulsed, and gave over the enterprize.

*Lestiguieres* left his camp of *Cabours* to overtake the duke of *Savoy*, and to attack him in his retreat; but



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the precipitation of his captains extricated the duke out of the danger he was in, and caused only a confusion in his march. The garrison of *Cabours*, informed of all this ill success, surrendered upon capitulation. *Lesdiguieres*, after having fortified the place, and laid the country under contribution as far as *Turin*, put an end to so glorious a campaign, and repassed the mountains, as well upon account of the rigour of the season, as because he had received advice that the marquis of *Tresfort*, governour of *Savoy*, was entered into *Gresvundun*, and had ravaged the country as far as *Grenoble*. Upon his arrival, he quickly retired, and both parties put their troops into winter quarters.

Whilst all these military expeditions were making, in so many different parts of the kingdom, the divisions increased among the leaguers, especially at *Paris*, between the faction of sixteen, and that of the *politicks*. In the hatred of the two factions one against the other, the general point of the division consisted in this, that the *politicks* were desirous of treating with the king upon supposition of his conversion; and, on the other hand, the sixteen refused absolutely to acknowledge his title, even under that circumstance, pretending that the conversion would never be sincere, and that religion would always be exposed to an evident danger. But what put the sixteen beyond all hopes, was the great prevalence of the *politick* party, especially since the execution of those persons, whom the duke of *Mayenne* had caused to be hanged for the death of president *Brissot*; and in consequence of the prohibition which had been made, of holding private assemblies, the parliament vigorously stood up against them upon every the least occasion.

In the mean while, the duke of *Mayenne* made all necessary dispositions for calling together the assembly of the deputies of the provinces, according to what he had promised the *Spaniards*, the design of which was to make choice of a king, who should marry the infanta of *Spain*. It was resolved, that this assembly should be held at *Paris*, and notice was sent of it to the prince of *Parma*, who was highly displeased; for he was desirous it should have been

been held at *Reimes* or *Saïssons*, where he would have had them more under his command, by means of the troops he was to bring thither, under pretence of guarding the assembly. He let the duke of *Mayenne* know, notwithstanding, that he would immediately lead another army into *France* against the king of *Navarre*; but his death, which fell out in this conjuncture, prevented the execution of his design.

His death was a very considerable advantage to the king, for the prince of *Parma* was one of the greatest officers in *Europe*; and *M. de la Noue* himself, who had no cause to be well pleased with him (for he had kept him a long time in prison) said of him, amongst other things, *That he formed an attack the best of any man he ever knew.*

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*Discourt. P<sup>o</sup>l  
liques &  
militaires, P.  
339.*

The government of the *Low-Countries* continued in the hands of count *Peter Ernest de Mansfeld*, whom the prince of *Parma* had named his lieutenant for the time he was to be in *France* with his army; and thus ended the year 1592. The next was less memorable for military expeditions, but much more remarkable for other events, the variety of intrigues of the different parties, and the happy turn the king's affairs took.

The assembly of *Paris* held all mens minds in suspense, upon the decision of the grand affair they were to treat of. The *Spaniards* laboured to make it fall upon the infanta of *Spain*, and the person whom it should be judged proper to give her for a husband. The princes of *Lorraine* hoped to draw it into their family. Some had formed notions of gaining it to themselves, and others, at least, hoped to make their advantage of the ruin of the kingdom.

Upon the scheme of the *Spaniards*, and their party, several of the princes stood excluded, and particularly the duke of *Mayenne*; for having wives already, they were not in a condition to marry the infanta of *Spain*. There were also some amongst the *French* for the marquis de *Pont*, son to the duke of *Lorraine*, because he was a foreigner. There were then, of all these princes, only the duke of *Nemours*, who was brother to the duke of *Mayenne*, by the mother's side, and the duke of *Guise* his nephew, to whom the duke of *Mayenne*, in a view of raising his family to the

A. D. 1592. throne, could possibly be favourable: For we must suppose, that in the assembly of *Paris*, there was no regard paid to the princes of the blood, whom they entirely rejected, as having always represented them to be favourers of heresy, except the cardinal of *Bourbon*, who had attempted to make a third party, and was then in no condition either to form it, or support it.

As to the duke of *Nemours*, since the glory he had acquired in the defence of *Paris*, he was become so independent of the duke of *Mayenne*, and had acted so little in concert with him, that the duke was in no wise desirous to place so haughty and imperious a prince over his head; and lastly, his nephew, the duke of *Guise*, had no great reason to expect his favour, who was already displeased to see him his competitor, and that he had entered into alliance with his enemies, and especially with the sixteen, and the *Spaniards*, who had used their utmost endeavours to set him at the head of the league in his place.

Upon these suppositions, it can hardly be doubted but the duke of *Mayenne*, how contrary soever he might seem to act upon several occasions, from that time determined to hinder the election of a king, in the assembly of *Paris*, and was resolved, sooner or later, to come to an agreement with his majesty, pursuant to the steps he had already made with him, by the mediation of M. *de Villeroy*. However, he acted as if such a design had been always far from his view.

A. D. 1593 The meeting of the states was in the great hall of the *Louvre*, on the twenty-sixth of *January* 1593, for so they wrongfully called that assembly, since none but the king has power to call the states together; but custom in this point has prevailed over reason among historians. The duke of *Mayenne* made a long speech, to persuade the assembly to have nothing in view but the good of religion, and the state.

In the second session, which was the next day, the legate proposed, that before all things the members of the states should bind themselves, by solemn oaths, never to be reconciled with the king of *Navarre*, even though he should embrace the catholick religion.

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The opposition which this proposition met with, let him and the *Spaniards* know, that it would not be so easy for them as they imagined to compass their design. The duke of *Mayenne* rejected it with freedom and courage, and the most part of the convention appeared to be in his sentiments; and then the archbishop of *Lyons* taking upon him to speak, made use of an expedient which stopped the legate's mouth. He told them, that the choice of proper means to restore tranquillity to the kingdom of *France*, and procure safety to religion, was referred to the prudence of the pope; that they did not yet know what was his intentions, and that to take the oaths without having consulted him upon a point of such importance, would be to tie his hands, and out-reach his authority.

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The next day, being the twenty-eighth day of the month, a trumpet of the king arrived from *Chartres*, who said he had a packet addressed to the count *de Belin* governor of *Paris*. The count *de Belin* carried it to the duke of *Mayenne*, who refused to open it, except in presence of the chief of the assembly.

'Twas open'd in the presence of the legate, cardinal *Pelleve*, *Diego d' Ybarra*, *M. de Villeroy*, and some others. They found in it a writing, wherein the catholicks of the king's party invited those of the assembly at *Paris* to a conference upon the affairs of religion and state. It was intituled, *The Proposition of the Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, —tending to the quiet of the kingdom, so necessary for the preservation of the catholick religion, and the state, made to the duke of Mayenne, and the other princes of his house—Prelates—at present assembled in the town of Paris.*

It was deliberated whether this writing should be communicated to the convention, and notwithstanding all the legate's endeavours, it was concluded to lay it before them. At the same time there was sent abroad another writing or manifesto of the king, which made a great impression upon several people.

The duke of *Mayenne* suspended the affair of the first overture, 'till his return from a journey he was obliged to make to the frontiers of *Picardy*, to meet

A. D. 1593. the duke of *Feria* ambassador of *Spain*, who was marching with the army of the *Low-Countries*, commanded by the count *Charles* of *Mansfield*. He left the sieurs *de Villeroy*, and *Jannin*, to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of the legate, and the *Spanish* ministers.

The count of *Mansfield* having entred *France*, laid siege to *Noyon*, and having given an assault, the place was surrendred to him upon capitulation, before the king could come to its succour.

Several conferences had passed between the duke of *Mayenne*, and the duke of *Feria*, at *Soissons*, before the taking of *Noyon*. The duke of *Feria* being persuaded that the convention of *Paris*, which the duke of *Mayenne* had been prevailed on to call, was the decisive blow, did not scruple to propose, that the states should begin with abolishing the *salick* law, and from this principle he drew very favourable consequences in behalf of the *infanta* of *Spain*.

The duke of *Mayenne* heard his discourse, and all his reasoning, with a great deal of coldness, and answered him almost in the same manner as the president *Jannin* had answered the *Spanish* minister in the conferences of the camp at *la Fere*, before the raising of the siege of *Rouen*, by demanding of him, How he could be able to support so great an enterprize? or, Where were the troops, and millions, necessary to subdue the king of *Navarre*? that the count of *Mansfield* had entered *France* with only five thousand men, and that they had given him, the duke of *Mayenne*, by way of advance, for all the expences of the campaign he was about to begin, no more than five and twenty thousand crowns, with a long detail of other difficulties which would occur in the execution.

As these reasons were unanswerable, the duke of *Feria* enlarged upon the magnificent promises he had orders to make from the king of *Spain*; that when the election should be made, and the crown adjudged to the *infanta*, his majesty, encouraged by his own interest, would employ all his treasury, and all the forces of his dominions, and that in a short time they would see fifty thousand foot enter *France*, on all sides, to maintain the *infanta* upon the throne, and exterminate hereticks.

The duke of *Mayenne* replied, with a simile, That he had to do with the present, and not with the future; that the yoke of a foreign government was not easy of digestion to a *French* stomach, and that it wanted some strong seasoning to make it palatable.

*Inigo de Mendoza*, a lawyer, whom the king of *Spain* had given to the duke of *Feria*, to assist him with his advice in matters relating to law, told the duke of *Mayenne*, that he was well assured that all the deputies of the states of *Paris* would not only receive the infant, but also would desire his catholick majesty to give her to them, and it was he alone that opposed the election.

The duke of *Mayenne* answered him, with scorn, That he talked of an affair that he knew nothing of, and that he certainly took the deputies for *Indians*; but that the *Spaniards* should find they were neither quite so stupid, nor so easy to be imposed on. Upon which *Mendoza* having repeated to him again, That he was well acquainted with the disposition of the states, and that they had no need of his credit to make the infant own'd; You are much mistaken, says the duke of *Mayenne*, for if I do not consent to the election, the whole world is not able to make it succeed.

The duke of *Feria*, being no more master of his temper than his lawyer, told the duke of *Mayenne*, in a scornful way, That it was himself that was abused, and the election should pass in spite of him, and that he would, farther, take from him the command of the army, and give it to the duke of *Guise*.

This threatening put the duke of *Mayenne* out of all patience, who raising his voice still higher, bid him do the worst he could; that it was in his power to turn all *France* against the *Spaniards*; that if he undertook it, he would throw them all out of the kingdom in eight days; and lastly, That they seem'd to treat him as their subject, but thank heaven he was not so yet, and their proceedings should hinder him from ever desiring to be so hereafter. Upon which he broke up the conference, and withdrew.

The passionate behaviour of the duke of *Feria* was much disapproved by the ministers of *Spain*, and it was resolved in council to endeavour, by all possible



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means, to appease the duke of *Mayenne*. *M. de Tassis* was sent to beg pardon, and was received in a very haughty manner. The count of *Mansfeld*, and some others, undertook to draw him over. *Tassis* offered him from *Spain* the sovereignty of the dutchy of *Burgundy*, the government of *Picardy*, during life, the title and authority of lieutenant general under the queen, and to pay all his debts, if he would favour the election of the infant, with twenty-five thousand crowns, which should immediately be delivered him; He promised him a note for two hundred thousand more, and to confer upon him, by letters patents, the generalship of the *Spanish* troops, which he should dispose of at his will, and which should not act but by his direction.

Whether it was the duke yielded to these offers, or that he had a mind to have it thought so, he suffered his passion to grow cool, accepted the proposal, and was reconciled to the duke of *Feria*; however he sent a secret order to the archbishop of *Lyons*, and the president *Jannin*, to prevail upon the states, that the conference demanded by the catholicks of the king's party should be resolved on.

They effected their design, notwithstanding the cardinal legate, cardinal *Pelleve*, and the other partisans of *Spain*, and after many difficulties it was decreed, That the conferences should be held at *Surenne*, a village about a league and a half from *Paris*.

The arrival of the duke of *Feria* caused no alteration in this affair, and the states proceeded to the election of deputies for the conference. The convention chose the archbishop of *Lyons*, the sieur de *Billi* abbot of *St. Vincent*, and afterwards bishop of *Laon*, *Villars* governor of *Rouen*, the count de *Belin* governor of *Paris*, the president *Jannin*, the baron de *Talmet*, the sieurs de *Montigni* and *Montolin*, the president *le Maître*, the solicitor *Bernard*, and *du Laurent*, solicitor general to the parliament of *Paris*.

The king, who was then at *Mante*, having assembled his council to chuse deputies in like manner, the choice fell upon *Renaud de Beaune*, archbishop of *Bourges*, to whom were joined in commission, the sieurs de *Chavigni*, *Bellicre*, *Schomberg*, *Pont-Carre*,  
Emerio

*Emeric de Thou*, and *Revol*, who were all of the king's council. A. D.

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As the catholicks of the king's party could not hope for the success of any conference, unless his majesty would explain himself in more positive terms than he yet had done upon the affair of his conscience; M. d' O was employed, by the rest, to obtain his explication upon this head.

This lord represented to him the great interest his majesty had in the present conjunctures, no longer to hold the minds of men in suspense upon so essential a point, and laid before him all the motives which were most capable to draw him over to his side. The king answered him, That he was intirely resolved to give all possible satisfaction to the catholicks that had served him upon this head, and very soon, and then laid before him very strong reasons for his delays hitherto, and assured him, that he was resolved in three months, at most, to assemble the bishops to put an end to the affair: And this, said he, you may tell the archbishop of *Bourges* from me, who is to be at the head of the deputies at the conference of *Suvenne*, and that he may entirely rely upon what I now say.

It is certain that the king had received private instructions in the matters of religion, and *Victor Cayet*, doctor of divinity, who has left us a very good history of this king's reign till the peace of *Vervins*, tells us, that he consulted him by letters upon his difficulties on several articles of the *Roman* religion; that he was not the only catholick doctor with whom he conferr'd in this matter; and that by the assistance of the discourses he had with them, and the writings they had supplied him with, he very often confounded the calvinist ministers; and when M. d' O made him the remonstrance I have lately mentioned, he was dissatisfied only in three points, the invocation of the saints, auricular confession, and the pope's authority. Cayet, T. 2.

The conference began the twenty-ninth of *April*. The first were upon divers preliminaries, and principally upon the limits which were to be set to the suspension of arms, and its duration; so that they did not begin to treat of affairs till the fifth of *May*.

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The first proposition which was made by the archbishop of *Bourges*, was to acknowledge the king, to whom the crown belonged by right of birth, or at least to invite him to follow the religion of his ancestors. The archbishop of *Lyons* answered, That all the catholicks, who assisted in the states, would be cut limb from limb before they would submit to an heretick prince; and as to the inviting him to change his religion, he had too long amused the catholicks of his own party, for them to rely upon him in that point; besides they had all taken oaths, which hindered them from treating with him.

The archbishop of *Bourges* reply'd to the second article, by urging the king's reasons for so long deferring his instructions, of which the principal was the obstinate war made upon him by the leaguers, without any abatement; that all the oaths they had taken were unjust in themselves; that in all preceeding times the popes had made the first overtures to princes, who through the misfortune of their birth had fallen into error, if they saw the least appearance of their conversion, and were very far from treating them with rigour; that roughness, and severity, were the means to ruin religion, and that there was a sufficient example of this in what had fallen out in *England*; and lastly, "Gentlemen, says he, it belongs to you to take good advice before you make your pretended election of a new king, for certainly ours will never fly to give place to him, and will want neither courage, nor faithful subjects, to defend the right which God and his birth have conferred upon him."

The conference, which had been held that day three or four times, ended, after some debate upon the authority of the pope, and the liberty of the *Gallican* church.

They met together again on the tenth of *May*, and the archbishop of *Bourges*, without making any more long discourses, says to them, "Gentlemen, We have sufficiently explained our pretensions, it now belongs to you to do as much on your side, and to lay before us what you insist on."

The archbishop of *Lyons* answered, "They had already done it as plainly as they could; that all their  
"design



“design in this conference was to promote a sincere  
“union amongst catholicks, to advance the safety of  
“the state, and the security of religion.”

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“Well, saith the archbishop of *Bourges*, what  
“answer do you make to us upon the king’s conver-  
“sion? will not you assist us to make him a catho-  
“lick?”

“Would to God, replied the archbishop of *Lyons*,  
“that he was a good catholick, that our holy father  
“could be satisfied of it.”

Upon this last word, M. *de Bourges* rejoyns,  
“On gentlemen, says he, don’t oblige us to make  
“such long journeys. There are so many mountains  
“to pass before we come to *Rome*, and so many ob-  
“stacles to overcome on that side, that this expedi-  
“ent cannot but be very dangerous in the present  
“state of affairs; but since you are upon this head,  
“give us leave to demand of you, that a stop should  
“be put, for some days, to all proceedings.” The  
archbishop of *Lyons* consented, and the suspension  
of arms in the neighbourhood of *Paris* was pro-  
longed.

The sieurs *de Schomberg*, and *de Revol*, were sent  
to *Mante*, where they made their report to the king’s  
council of all that had passed. They were some time  
before they returned, because the king was desirous to  
remove certain difficulties which remained to him,  
and this was done to his satisfaction; for which rea-  
son he resolved immediately to call an assembly of  
prelates to treat of his conversion, which was no more  
then a mere ceremony to finish this grand affair with  
the more solemnity, and made a great impression  
upon the minds of the people.

*Schomberg*, and *Revol*, having received this assu-  
rance from his own mouth, returned to *Surenne*, where  
the conferences were revived on the seventeenth of  
*May*. The archbishop of *Bourges*, with an air of  
joy, declared this news to the deputies of the league,  
and added, That they might now treat upon this  
plan with the catholick lords of the royal party: That  
further, they did not require of them to consent to  
what should be determined, ’till after this was put  
in execution, and the king was publicly restored to  
the unity of the church, and that to this end his ma-  
jesty

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jeſty offered them a truce of three months, which, in the preſent ſituation of his affairs, and thoſe of the league, would be prejudicial to none but himſelf.

This declaration very much embarrassed the arch-biſhop of *Lyons*, and he deſired leave to confer with his colleagues. After having deliberated with them, he answered, That nothing could be more agreeable to them than the news of the king of *Navarre's* conversion, but there would ſtill remain a difficulty in knowing it to be ſincere, and great miſchief might ariſe if it ſhould prove otherwiſe. He endeavoured to render it ſuſpected, from certain advantages the king had lately granted to the hugonots. Here they ſtopt, and the ſieur *de Revol* gave in writing to the deputies of the league, the declaration that was lately made touching the king's conversion.

This declaration was printed and ſpread all over the kingdom, as well as the circular letter which he wrote to ſeveral biſhops and doctors, inviting them to come to him on the fifteenth of *July*. Theſe two writings had a wonderful effect, and notwithstanding the prohibition of the cardinal legate, three curates of the principal pariſhes of *Paris* left the town, and went to the king. Theſe were the ſieurs *Bennet*, curate of *S. Eustache*, *Chavagnac*, curate of *S. Sulpice*, and *Morenne*, curate of *S. Meri*, and afterwards biſhop of *Seez*.

Though this ſtep was very advantageous to the king, in bringing back to his party ſeveral of the catholicks, it laid him under great difficulties with relation to the hugonots; however, he found means to calm their paſſions, by the mediation of certain catholick lords, whom he engaged to promiſe them, that nothing ſhould be done to their prejudice in the conferences of *Surenne*; that whatever happened, they ſhould enjoy the privileges which had been granted them by the edicts of the preceding kings; and this promiſe was given them in writing, and ſigned by the chancellor, and all the moſt conſiderable perſons of the court.

The leaguers were ſtrangely diſconcerted, and knew not what party to take with reference to the writing which the ſieur *de Revol* had put into the hands of the deputies. They aſſembled again on the fifth of

*June*,

June, at the *Raquette* in the *Fauxbourg S. Antoine*, A. D. and the archbishop of *Lyon*'s answer to this writing 1593.

turned upon three points; First, As to the king of *Navarre*'s conversion, the catholicks of the royal party would do well to make application to the pope, whose business it was to receive him into the church: Secondly, That they could not enter into a treaty concerning the security of religion, without being informed before-hand of the intentions of the holy see; and Thirdly, As to the truce, they would then consider of it, when they received their answer to the two first articles:

The archbishop of *Bourges* replied to all this, that the king was disposed to shew the pope all the regard and respect that might be expected from a prince who was a sincere catholick, and to omit nothing that might remove all possible distrust from his holiness; but if the pope would take upon him to determine the capacity, or incapacity, of his majesty's person to succeed to the crown, he thought those who composed this assembly were too good *Frenchmen*, and too well acquainted with the rights and laws of the kingdom, and the liberties of the *Gallican* church, to support the pretensions of the court of *Rome* in an affair of this nature; that, in a word, whatever should happen, the king would never submit the evident right he had to the kingdom of *France*, to an arbitration, upon account of the censures which had been issued out against him.

In the mean while, the king perceiving, by the management of the deputies of the league, that they sought only for delays, with design to supply *Paris* with all the provisions they were able, and give time to the *Spaniards* to draw troops towards the town, he ordered the admiral *de Biron* to invest the town of *Dreux*, and some days after published a proclamation, that the suspension of arms in the neighbourhood of *Paris* was at an end. The king made himself master of *Dreux*, and the taking of this place put the *Parisians* in a great consternation; for which reason the *Spaniards* pressed the convention more than ever to proceed to the election of a king. Upon this occasion the duke of *Feria* found himself under a necessity to declare who it was that the king of *Spain* design'd for



A. D. 1593. for an husband to the infant, and after a long discourse, came at last to this conclusion, That the intention of his master was to demand of the states the crown of *France* for the infant *Clara Eugenia Isabella*, and the arch-duke *Albert*, who was to marry her.

This proposition not only drew off from his interest those whom they named *politicks*, and the nobility who were assistants to the states, but also the clergy, and the third state; for that the whole world saw plainly, that the king of *Spain's* design was to impose upon the *French* the yoke of the house of *Austria*. The *Spanish* ministers observing this opposition, did not venture to insist upon it any farther, and said, That the king of *Spain* would consent to the election of a prince of *France*, comprehending under this name, the princes of the house of *Lorraine*, and secretly let the cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the duke of *Guise*, understand, that they had them in view.

But what finally disconcerted the artifices of the *Spaniards*, was a decree of parliament made by the president *Le Maître*, in which it was declared, that advice should be given of it to *M. de Mayenne*, lieutenant general of the crown of *France*, and it should be from this present time declared, That all treaties made, and which hereafter should be made, for the settlement of a foreign prince or princess upon the throne of *France*, were null and void, as being made in prejudice of the *Salick* law, and other fundamental laws of the kingdom of *France*.

In the mean while, the legate having received letters from *Rome*, by which he perceived that the pope's inclination began to change with reference to the affairs of *France*, consented to the truce proposed by the king and the duke of *Mayenne*, though much displeased with the decree of parliament which had been made in his absence, and named deputies to treat of it, which were messieurs *de la Chatre, du Roné, Bassompierre, Villeroy, Dampierre*, and the president *Jannin*, by which step the whole kingdom foresaw the fall of the league.

In the mean while the prelates, whom the king had called to court to finish the affair of his conversion, came to *S. Denis*, and put an end to the business.

ness. The king's abjuration was made in the abbey of *S. Denis*, on *Sunday* the twenty-fifth of *July*, and notwithstanding the legate's excommunication, abundance of persons, of all conditions, left *Paris* to assist at the ceremony. It was performed with all the splendor and magnificence imaginable, and all the usual forms in such kinds of ceremonies were observed upon the occasion.

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On the same day the king sent couriers to all the parliaments, to inform them of his conversion, and his reasons for so long delaying it. The leaguers, and in particular some of the preachers in *Paris*, gave way to their accustomed fury; but notwithstanding this, the treaty of truce, for which they were assembled at *La Villete*, was concluded and signed a few days after for three months, and published at *Paris*, and *S. Denis*, on the first of *August*.

By the truce it was forbidden to speak in the convention of the election of the infant ever after; but the duke of *Mayenne*, that he might be always in a condition to treat with the king to advantage, resolved to maintain and strengthen his party. The king on his side, that he might discharge the promise he had made the bishops of sending an ambassador to the pope, named the duke of *Nevers* for this embassy, and sent before him the sieur *de la Clieze*, with a very respectful letter to his holiness, which he sign'd in these terms, *Your good and devoted Son*, Henry.

The success of this embassy was very uncertain, upon account of the treatment which had been shewn hitherto to the cardinal of *Gondi*, and the marquiss of *Pisani*, deputies at *Rome*, from the catholick princes, and lords of the royal party: notwithstanding the credit of the republick of *Venice*, and the grand duke, who applied to the pope with all possible zeal in the king's cause; the cardinal, and the marquiss, were forbidden to set foot upon the lands of the church.

*Clement* the eighth was a pope of very extraordinary prudence, and though mightily rejoiced at the king's conversion, acted with great caution towards the *Spaniards*, and wished, for the honour of the holy see, and the good of the church, he could be assured that the king's conversion was sincere. Thus he sought for

A. D. 1593. for time to regulate his conduct, though he suffered certain words to fall from him on purpose, and took sometimes certain steps which might prevent the king from being too much discouraged.

For which reason, though he forbade the cardinal of *Gondi* to come to *Rome*, he gave leave to his secretary to come thither, and heard him very favourably; but one mark that the pope was not so opposite to the king as he would appear to be, was, that he himself was author of an intrigue which was carried on, for some time, in his very anti-chamber.

The cardinal *Altobrandin* nephew to the pope, had a servant named *Jacques Sannesio*, a man of a good capacity, but who made no figure in the court, and one who could hardly be supposed to be employed in a negotiation of importance. The pope was fully assured of his discretion and fidelity, and knew him to have a strict friendship with a *Frenchman* named *Arnaud d'Offat*, whom the queen dowager of *France* employed to demand of the pope sometimes bulls for the erection of some monastery, and, now and then, indulgences and other things of the like nature. It was he, whose merit, supplying the defects of his birth, raised him in time to the dignity of a cardinal. The pope knew him at that time to be a man of good sense, and what I am about to relate, was certainly the first step towards his elevation.

The pope ordered *Sannesio* to talk, as of himself, to *d'Offat*, of the affairs of *France*, without appearing to have any more correspondence together, than they had formerly, and for this purpose, not to see him any where else but in his anti-chamber, where they used to meet, and by this means the pope got information of abundance of particulars.

They had discoursed several times upon this subject, when *la Cliele* arrived at *Rome* with the king's letter to the pope. It required a great deal of management to be able to get it into the pope's hands. *Seraphin Olivieri*, auditor of the *Rota*, who was a favourite of the pope, as being a man of a pleasant and facetious temper, could not prevail upon him to receive it. He only told him, with reference to an audience, he would consider whether he should allow it: But he said this in  
such



such a manner, that *Olivieri* plainly saw it would be granted.

In short, that very evening the pope gives orders to *d'Ossat* by *Sannesi*, to confer with the gentleman that lately came from *France*, and give him good hopes of his negotiation, and advise him, as of himself, not to be discouraged at the difficulties he should meet with.

The next day in the evening, the master of the pope's chamber went to *Olivieri*'s house, took *la Clielle* into his coach, and having brought him to the palace, led him by a pair of back-stairs into the pope's cabinet.

This gentleman, upon his entry, threw himself at his feet, told him he was come from the king his master to kiss them, and present his holiness a letter which had been committed to his care.

At these words the pope interrupts him, and tells him, with an angry air, that he had been impos'd upon; that an audience had been demanded of him for a private gentleman, and not for the agent of an heretick relapsed and excommunicated, and ordered him to go out of his presence without any delay.

*La Clielle*, who was prepared for this comedy, begs his pardon, desires him not to take it ill, that he had executed the orders of the king his master, who was desirous to pay him his submission in person, and to shew all possible marks of the profound respect he had for his person and dignity; but that since his holiness would not hear him, he would at least leave the letter intrusted to him, with the paper of his instructions; and having laid both upon the table, he retired.

He received orders the next day to go to the house of cardinal *Francis Tolet*, whom the pope esteemed very much, and was so thoroughly persuaded of his integrity, that he let him farther than any other into the secret of the king's affair, altho' he was a *Spaniard*. *La Clielle* had three conferences with the cardinal, upon the state of the kingdom of *France*, and the king's dispositions towards religion; but he gave him no other answer, that that the pope could not give audience to his majesty, nor grant him absolution, because he was a relapse.

*La Clielle* not knowing what would be the end of all this intrigue, made slow preparations for his return,

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when *d'Ossat*, the night before his departure, came to him, and recommended to him what he was about to say, as the greatest secret in the world, that the king should continue to shew by his conduct, the sincerity of his conversion, and that the pope was resolved not to receive the embassy of the duke of *Nevers*, as thinking he could not do it in conscience, before he had made proofs of the king's constancy in religion; but notwithstanding, his majesty should not grow impatient upon the occasion, for that in due time and place, he should receive all possible satisfaction.

This assurance, though in general terms, was beyond the hope *la Cluelle* had conceived of the success of his negotiation; he set out some few hours after, and hastened to carry the king this agreeable news.

*Cayet, T. 2:* In the mean while, the duke of *Nevers* set out for *Rome* by the way of *Switzerland*, and when he arrived at *Peschiano* in the *Valteline*, the jesuit *Anthony Possevin* met him, and presented to him a brief, which was no other than a credential letter, upon what this father had to say to him from the pope. The duke having read the \* brief, demanded of him what were his orders. *\*Quoted by Cayet, T. 2.* I have nothing more, said *Possevin*, than to tell you, that the pope will be glad to see you at *Rome*, as *Lewis de Gonzague* duke of *Nevers*; but that he cannot receive you as the ambassador of a king he doth not own; and, lastly, that he rejoiced at his majesty's conversion, and wished it was such as it ought to be.

The duke, after having discoursed *Possevin* upon the affairs of *France*, and laid before him the reasons which ought to ingage the pope to receive him as ambassador, pursued his journey, during which time, the said *Possevin* was twice sent back to him, and the last orders he carried him, was to enter *Rome* without any retinue, and not tarry there above ten days. The duke, notwithstanding all these disgusts, was not discouraged, and entred *Rome* on the one and twentieth of *November* very late in the evening, to satisfy the pope, but attended with fifty gentlemen notwithstanding, besides his domesticks.

The same evening he went to kiss the pope's feet, and besought him, among other things, not to limit his stay at *Rome* to ten days. The pope told him, he would think upon it; but declared to him at the same time, that

that he could not give the king absolution without sin, *A. D.*  
*even in the forum of conscience.* He promised him, not- *1593.*  
 withstanding, a longer audience, which he gave him on  
 the *Tuesday* following.

The duke laid before him the state of affairs in *France*,  
 in a manner which let his holiness know the weakness  
 of the league, and the prevalence of the royal party,  
 the partiality of the legate, and several other things,  
 which were of force to move him. He had several  
 other audiences, but to no purpose, and having learn'd  
 that the pope, in a consistory, had plainly declared his  
 resolution not to ratify the absolution given to the king  
 by the archbishop of *Bourges*, he presented him with a  
 procuration he had from the king, for all that he de-  
 manded and offered in his name, and finding him  
 still inflexible, he left *Rome* to go to *Venice*.

The misunderstanding between the heads of the  
 league, of which there had been seen so many instances,  
 continued still; insomuch that the duke of *Mayenne*  
 laid the duke of *Nemours* under an arrest at *Lyons*.  
 He had concerted the affair very secretly with the arch-  
 bishop, who under pretext of the truce, which rendered  
 his presence useless at *Paris*, was returned into his  
 diocese. He took his measures so well, that at the time  
 the duke of *Nemours* laboured to make himself absolute  
 master of *Lyons*, by the troops he had brought into the  
 town, he found himself surrounded by the citizens, who  
 formed barricades after the model of them at *Paris*,  
 and shut him up in the castle of *Pierre-Encise*.

Several attempts were made on both sides in *Brit-*  
*tany*, *Berry*, *Maine*, *Anjou* and *Poitou*. The count  
 of *Brissac* saved *Poitiers* to the league. This impor-  
 tant service was but ill returned by the duke of *Elbeuf*,  
 who obliged him to quit the place. This was cause of  
 new uneasiness to the duke of *Mayenne*, who saw almost  
 all the princes of his house act contrary to his inten-  
 tion.

*David Bouchar*, viscount of *Aubeterre*, took *Corn*  
*in Perigord* at discretion, from the league; the pri-  
 soners and the booty he took there, were the least con-  
 siderable advantage of this enterprize; for there they  
 discovered the secret of *M. de Montpesat's* journey, who  
 was son to the dutchess of *Mayenne*, and was sent  
 into *Spain* by the duke, to procure the election of his



A. D. 1593. eldest son, *Henry of Lorraine*, to the crown, by the states of *Paris*, and with all the power of a naval force, which the *Spaniards* were preparing for *Blaye*, at that time besieged by the mareschal de *Matignon*.

This put him upon measures to prevent it. Vessels were brought from *England* and *Holland*, and the mareschal fitted out some at *Bordeaux*. The *Spanish* fleet however, made its appearance, and was twice beaten. And, notwithstanding the considerable loss the *Spaniards* sustained in the last engagement, where four of their gallies were run aground, a few days after some of their vessels entered the *Garonne*, in a very dark night, and threw provisions, ammunition, and fresh troops into *Blaye*, which obliged the mareschal to raise the siege. He was some days after called to court by the king; but before he went, he gave notice to the parliament of the good news of the king's conversion. They were overjoyed that they had followed this lord's prudent advice, and had delayed, for some time, to engage in the cause of the league, in hopes that the king would become a catholic, which now they saw happily effected.

On the side of the *Alps* the duke of *Savoy*, in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, raised an army of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, and took *Exiles* after four assaults which were sustained by *Blacons*, who killed him abundance of his men. *Lefdiguières* had very soon his revenge for so small a loss, for having suffered *Roderic de Toledo* to engage in the mountains, he surrounded him by means of the perfect knowledge he had of all the windings and narrow passes, and killed fifteen hundred of his men, and the general himself amongst the rest; and yet this victory, which was so bloody on the enemies side, did not cost him above three or four soldiers, and very few wounded.

The duke of *Savoy* judging it convenient to suspend at least the progress of a war, which cost him so dear, gave notice to *Lefdiguières*, that he was willing to enter into the treaty of truce, which the king had granted to the league, and which he had leave to do by one of the articles of this treaty. *Lefdiguières* made no great scruple to comply with his inclination, as being glad to repose his troops, and by this means

have

have an opportunity of re-victualling *Briqueras* and *A. D.*  
*Cahours*.

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The division this gentleman had made in *Piedmont*, had hindred the duke of *Savoy* from attempting any thing in *Provence*; but the country was not ever the more at peace upon this account. The duke of *Espernon* was almost universally hated by the *Proventials*, for his pride and haughtiness and severity of temper. The king hated him no less than they, and sent him to command in *Provence* against his inclination. He even distrusted him to a great degree, and had constantly delayed, notwithstanding his repeated instances, to send him his letters patents for the government of the province. The *Proventials* increased his distrust, by a thousand letters they wrote to court; and as they were principally incensed against him, for having built a citadel at *S. Tropez*, and another at *Brignola*, and a great fort within cannon-shot of the town of *Aix*, they let the king know, that he had no other view in fortifying himself thus in the country, than to make himself absolute master of the province, and keep the government of it in his own hands, in opposition to the court.

The king easily gave into these insinuations, and would have been glad to have found out some pretext for recalling him; but the affair was very delicate, because it was apprehended upon this occasion, he would go over intirely to the league, and call in the duke of *Savoy* and the *Spaniards* to his support. The king acted a very extraordinary part in this conjuncture, and committed the execution of his design to *Lesdiguières*, and this was to stir up all the gentlemen, and especially the governors of the royal towns, to a revolt against the duke of *Espernon*, which would furnish his majesty with very good reasons for removing the duke out of the province, in order to restore peace and tranquillity in it.

The matter was carried on with so much conduct and discretion, that it succeeded, and the governors of the towns having dismiss'd the *Gascon* captains, under divers pretences, who were alone attach'd to the duke, they rais'd a general revolt, at a time when the duke of *Espernon* was gone to *Pesenas* to visit the constable

A. D. *Montmorenci*; and the universal cry was, *Long live the king and liberty.*

1593.

All had been past recovery for the duke of *Espernon*, if they had taken but one precaution, and raised a small body of troops to hinder his return, which was very easy for them to have done. In his return into *Provence*, he must have passed the *Rhine* and the *Durance*, and a large tract of ground withal, before he could join the body of his troops, which were dispersed in the neighbourhood of *Aix*; but for want of this caution, he passed the two rivers without any opposition, with four hundred horse which he got together with all haste in *Languedoc*, and arrived at his fort before *Aix*. This was a grievous surprize and concern to the inhabitants; for they had already made great rejoicings, upon a supposition that they were intirely delivered from him. The count of *Carces* and the town of *Aix*, who were prepared to acknowledge the king, if the province could intirely shake off the yoke of the duke of *Espernon*, suspended their resolution for some time; but, nevertheless, acted always in concert with those of the royal party, who had declared against the *Gascons*. I shall mention what followed upon these motions under the next year, which were very advantagious to the king.

Notwithstanding the reason his majesty had to distrust the duke of *Mayenne's* sincerity, from his intercepted letters and memoirs; he granted a prolongation of the truce for the months of *November* and *December*, at the solicitation of *M. de Villeroy*.

Hitherto the king's conversion had wrought no considerable effect, except the preventing the infants from being elected by the convention of *Paris*, which had been lately dissolved by the duke of *Mayenne*; but towards the latter end of this year 1593, the town of *Meaux* gave an example which was speedily followed by several others.

*M. de Vitri* governor of *Meaux*, drew all his garrison out of the town, and there having assembled the towns-men and principal officers, he told them, that the king being now become a catholick, he had removed the obstacle which hindred his subjects from owning him as their lawful sovereign; that for his part, he was resolved to acquit himself of this essential duty; that it was in his power, indeed, to deliver



liver up their town to him; but that having been made governor of it by the league, in honour, he was obliged to do otherwise, for which reason he gave back the keys of their town into their own hands, and left them at liberry to follow their own inclinations.

A. D.  
1593.

This declaration was a great surprize to the magistrates, who, after having deliberated upon it, resolved to imitate the example of their governor and garrison; and upon the breaking up of the assembly, they all cried aloud, *Long live the king.*

Upon this happy news, the king set forward towards *Meaux*, and arrived there in the beginning of *January*. He was received with great testimonies of joy, which he returned, by granting the town considerable privileges, and assured them that he would not allow the exercise of any other religion, than the catholick. He then restored the government of it to *M. de Vitri*, and gave the reversion of it to his son.

A. D. 1594

The king returned to *S. Denis*, that he might be within reach of making his advantage of the motions which the reduction of *Meaux* might cause in *Paris*, as also of certain manifestoes and declarations which he had sent abroad upon this conjuncture; one of which declarations concluded with an exhortation to all the favourers of the league, to return to their obedience within a month. The king promised them a general pardon for all that was past, and to continue them in all their offices, dignities and employments, and at the same time he gave commands to his parliaments and all other judges, to prosecute all such as should remain obstinate, after the expiration of this term, as guilty of high-treason.

This declaration made a great noise in *Paris*, where the authority of the duke of *Mayenne* was mightily diminished, and the faction of the sixteen, who were supported by a considerable *Spanish* garrison, had gain'd the superiority, insomuch, that they first obliged several of those whom they named politicks, and were suspected to favour the king's party, to leave the town: And what displeased the duke of *Mayenne* more than all the rest, he was forced, against his inclination, to remove the count *de Belin* from the government of *Paris*,

A. D. 1594. and put it into the hands of the count *de Brissac*, whom they thought irreconcilable with the king, because he had been always a zealous leaguer, and had acted with more vigour against his late majesty than any other, at the barricade.

A few days after, the king went to the siege of *la Ferte Milon*, a principal town in the isle of *France*; which he caused to be invested by the mareschal *de Biron*. He took the town, and from thence he went to *Mante*, to give orders for the ceremony of his consecration, which was performed at *Chartres* on the twenty-seventh of *February*.

His majesty's retreat from *Paris* was not without design. He was desirous to lessen the disquiet of the duke of *Mayenne*, the *Spaniards*, and the sixteen, and give time to the politicks to form their party, and to deliver *Paris* into his hands, according as they had promised.

The reduction of *Lyons* to the king's obedience, was a very different example from that of *Meaux*, for the capital of the kingdom. It fell out in the beginning of *February*. The king was indebted for it to the fidelity, prudence and vigour of three inhabitants of the town, the sieurs *Jacques, de Liergues* and *de Seve*, who, assisted by the troops of *Alphonso Ornano*, which came exactly at the time appointed, surprized the leaguers, when they least expected it, and made themselves masters of the town, and having drove out the principals of the league, intirely subjected it to the king.

The submission of *Lyons* to his majesty's obedience, was followed a few days after by that of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, by means of *M. de la Chatre* governor of the *Orleannois* and *Berry*. The conditions of the treaty were almost the same with those that had been granted to *Meaux* and *Lyons* upon their surrender, with reference to the security of the catholick religion. There was one particular for *la Chatre*, namely, that his government should be continued to him, and that the king should confirm him in his dignity of mareschal of *France*, which the league had conferred upon him; and thus began to be verified the prediction which *M. de Chan-walon* made to the duke of *Mayenne*, when he undertook to create mareschals of *France*, That he made bastards, which would become legitimate at his expence.

pence. *La Chatre* resum'd immediately the collar of the order of the holy ghost, which he had not wore ever since the year 1589.

A. D.

1594.

After this fortunate success, the king went to *Chartres* to be consecrated. The consecration was performed with great solemnity, and all the usual ceremonies, on the twenty-seventh of *February*. He was consecrated by *Nicholas de Thou* bishop of *Chartres*, and instead of the holy viol of *Rheims*, they made use of *S. Martin's*, which is kept in the convent of *Marmoutier* at *Tours*.

The king's consecration, which was defective in nothing that renders the person of our princes revered by their people; and the accounts which were dispersed of it all over the kingdom, made a great impression upon the minds of the subjects. A great number of gentlemen deserted the troops of the league to serve under his majesty. His party increased in almost all the great towns, and especially at *Paris*, where the politicks, observing their party to be in a manner formed, began to enter upon the most expeditious measures for delivering the town into the king's hands.

The duke of *Mayenne* suspected some private design, upon observing that the politicks met frequently together in private; but he knew not how to remedy the affair. The shortest way would have been to drive from *Paris* all those he mistrusted; but then he must have disoblged the most considerable families, and, besides, have augmented the power of the sixteen, who bore a mortal hatred to him, and had long thought of depriving him of all his authority. In this unhappy conjuncture, he saw no security in tarrying at *Paris*, and he took a resolution in the beginning of *March*, to go to *Soissons* with the dutchess his wife, and his eldest son, under pretence of meeting the *Spanish* army, which was advanced as far as the frontiers of *Picardy*, and was his last refuge.

Before he left the town, he engaged the count of *Brissac* to promise him expressly, that he would be very vigilant in preserving *Paris*, and have a strict eye over all the motions of the politicks, to prevent the execution of their designs.

*Brissac*



A. D.  
1594.

*Brissac* was evidently at first resolved to keep his word with the duke of *Mayenne*; but having after considered well the disposition of the several parties in *Paris*, and learn'd the inclination of the most principal families to the king; he plainly saw the difficulty there would be in cutting off all intelligence, and that, sooner or later, let him use what vigilance he would, he must fall under it. He represented to himself the examples of the mareschal *de Chaire*, and of *Villars* governor of *Roan*, who was actually treating with the king, and the advantages he should gain by the imitation; and, lastly, the justice of submitting to his lawful sovereign, now the obstacle of religion was removed, presented itself to his view in a different manner than before.

The secret solicitations and promises made to him by the king, brought him to a final resolution. He opened himself to the sieur *Lullier*, *prevot des marchands*, to the sheriffs *Langlois* and *Neret*, to the president *le Maitre*, the attorney general *Mole*, and certain colonels and captains amongst the citizens, whom he knew to be well inclined towards the king, who when they saw themselves secure of the governor, found no other difficulty than to think of a proper method to put their design in execution.

The twenty-second of *March* was the day agreed on to bring the king into *Paris*. His majesty, but a little before, to prevent all suspicion, had retired to a distance, and gone from *S. Denis* to *Senlis*. On the twenty-first he assembled the greatest part of his troops in the valley of *Montmorenci*, and spread a report, that he was going to meet the *Spaniards*, who were already advanced as far as the *Beauvoisis*. The evening of the same day, the president of justice, and the sheriff *Langlois* gave orders to the captains whom they had let into the secret, to send letters to the royalists, of their quarters, whom they had not thought proper to trust with their design, with notice that peace was made; that the king's deputies would enter into *Paris* the next day, and therefore they should arm themselves in their defence, when this news should be told to the people, that they might resist the *Spaniards* and other foreigners, if they should attempt to offer them any violence.

The

The same evening the count *de Brissac* sent out of *Paris* the regiment of caprain *Jacques Ferrarois*, and some other troops, in order to carry off, as he said, a supply of money, which was to be conveyed to the king of *Navarre* through *Paliseau*.

A. D.

1594.

Some days before, a great many soldiers of the royal party were admitted into the town, some of them in disguise, and the rest as deserters, whom the president of justice and the sheriffs had placed in several quarters, to be employed as there should be occasion.

The sheriffs *Neret* and *Langlois*, placed numerous bodies of royalist troops at the port *Neuve*, *S. Denis*, *S. Honore*, and *S. Martin*, and captain *John Greffer* was posted at the great bastion of the *Celestines*, with several citizens and a good number of boat-men to facilitate the entry of the garrisons of *Melun* and *Corbeil*, who drew near, under the command of the *sieur de la Noue*, commander of the fort of *Gournay* upon the *Marne*. The *sieur de la Chevalerie*, lieutenant provincial of the artillery, who was posted at the arsenal, was to receive them, and, in concert with *la Noue*, to conduct them where it should be necessary.

In the mean time, the king's troops advanced. The sheriff *Langlois* went out to meet them, and *M. de Vitri* was the first whom he met, into whose hands he delivered up the port *S. Denis*. The king, who was already at the *Tuilleries*, ordered *M. d'O* to march to the port *Neuve*, and having made himself master of it, he turned to the left by the rampart, towards the port *S. Honore*, and seized upon it. He caused some pieces of cannon to be brought, which were upon the wall, and placed them so as to command the whole length of the street *S. Honore*. Other troops marched towards *S. Germain* from the *Auxerrois*. *Lewis* of *Montmorenci-Bouteville*, who conducted them, fell upon a corps de guard of sixty lansquenets, who having put themselves in a posture of defence, and refusing to cry out, *Long live the king*, were in part slain, and partly thrown into the river. They then seized upon the *Palais*, the bridges, and the *Chatelets*, without any resistance.

Upon

A. D.  
1594.

Upon advice that all those posts were secured, the king entred by port *Neuve* with the rest of his troops. The count of *Brissac* went to meet him, and presented him with a very fine embroidered scarf. His majesty took him in his arms, gave him his own scarf in return, and created him *mareschal of France* upon the spot. Soon after arrived the president of justice, and the sheriffs, at the head of a large body of citizens under arms, and presented his majesty with the keys of the town, who received them in the manner which the great service they had done him did deserve.

The accounts we have of the king's entry into *Paris*, are different in circumstances, but all agree, that it was performed without any other blood-shed, than the cutting off the body of *lanfquenets* I have already mentioned, and two or three of the towns-men, whom they found very stupidly running into the street, to stir up the people to take arms against the king.

The duke of *Feria* had passed the night under great uneasiness, upon advice of certain motions that were made in the town, and when he was informed that the king's troops were entred, he got together his forces in the neighbourhood of the temple, upon a resolution to defend himself in case of an attack. The king sent to him the count *de Brissac*, to let him know, that he had no cause to apprehend any danger, for that no instance of disregard should be shewn, provided he did not make himself unworthy of the king's goodness. The terms of the capitulation were immediately drawn up, and the king gave him and his soldiers leave to go out of *Paris* the same day, with their drums beating, their ensigns display'd, and all their baggage, only their matches were put out.

As soon as the king knew, that his officers had secured all quarters of the town, he went to *Notre Dame* to hear mass, and ordered *Te Deum* to be sung. In the mean time the shops were all opened, and each man wore a white scarf, whilst every part of the town, resounded with ecchoes and acclamations of *Long live the king*.

His majesty, after having dined at the *Louvre*, went to the port *S. Denis*, to see the *Spanish* troops go out to the number of three thousand men. The duke of  
*Feria*,



*Feria*, *Diego d' Xbarra*, and *John Baptista Taxis*, A. D. 1594. made him a very low bow. The king returned the compliment in a very handsome manner, and smiling, said to them, *Commend me, Gentlemen, to your master, but do not return again.*

M. St. Luc, and the baron *de Salignac*, led them as far as *Bourget*, and gave them a convoy as far as *Guise*. The cardinal legate, whom the king invited to court, desired to be excused, and was conveyed to *Montargis* by M. *du Perron* bishop of *Evreux*.

The *Bastille*, and the castle of *Vinciennes*, were surrendered to the king a few days after. The king created an office of president *a Mortier*, for the president *le Maitre*, who till that time had no other warrant for that employment, than the letters patents of the duke of *Mayenne*; he made the *sieur Lullier*, who was president of justice, president *a la chambre des Comptes*, and the sheriff *Langlois* was made master of the requests. These employments were conferr'd upon them in return for the services they had done his majesty in the reduction of *Paris*.

The king spent some days in the regulation of the *Police*, and in making declarations for the publick tranquillity and profit of the realm. *Paris*, in a very short time, recovered its antient form and splendor, and, in the mean while, the negotiation went on for the reduction of *Rouen*.

The baron *de Rosni* was charged with this important negotiation, and at last brought it to a conclusion, after having endured, at several times, with a great deal of patience, the passionate transports of M. *de Villars* governor of the town, which he had so gloriously defended in favour of the league. They granted him all he demanded, and amongst other things, the office of admiral of *France*, which had been conferred upon him by the duke of *Mayenne*, and which M. *de Biron*, whom the king had raised to that dignity, gave up to him, and his majesty in return created M. *de Biron* mareschal of *France*. *Villars*, in this treaty, was not forgetful of the interest of the catholick religion, after the example of all the other governors, who had submitted to the king. He was continued in his government, and obtained several other considerable advantages.

*Paris*,

Memoires de  
Sully, T. 1.

A. D.  
1594.

*Paris, Lyons, and Orleans*, the most considerable towns of the league and kingdom, having submitted, several other towns in divers provinces pressed to follow their example. *Troye* in *Champagne*, *Sens*, *Agen*, *Villeneuve*, *Marmande*, *Riom* in *Auvergne*, *Abbeville*, and *Montreuil* in *Picardy*, and *Poitiers* were not long after them. The league had nothing more remaining in *Poitou* than the castle of *Mirebeau*. *Amiens*, and *Beauvais*, were disposed, in like manner, to surrender, but were prevented by the presence of the dukes of *Mayenne*, and *Aumale*.

'Tis amazing that the duke of *Mayenne*, when he saw what turn affairs were taking, should not immediately resolve to treat with the king. He had no other refuge than the *Spanish* army, whose slave he must become, and some towns of *Picardy*, *Champagne*, and *Burgundy*, where he had garrisons; and he saw cause afterwards to repent of his conduct.

In the mean while *Ernest*, archduke of *Austria*, the emperor's brother, arrived in the *Low-Countries*, to take upon him the government of those provinces, and in full expectation of gaining the crown of *France*, by marrying the infanta of *Spain*. He plainly saw, by the turn that affairs were taking, all these hopes were wholly vanished; for which reason, giving over his chimerical design, he studied only how he might secure the town of *La Fere*, which had been given up to the *Spaniards*, when the prince of *Parma* went to the succour of *Rouen*, and to add to his government certain towns upon the frontiers of *France*, which bordered on the *Low-Countries*.

He ordered count *Charles* of *Mansfield*, to bring back the army he had led into *France*, and lay siege to *La Chapelle*, a town of *Picardy*. The duke of *Mayenne* was obliged to rest satisfied with this diversion, instead of any other assistance, whilst, with the few troops he had, he endeavoured to retain *Amiens*, *Laon*, and some other places of the province in the party of the league. *La Chapelle* was taken, and the marshal *de Biron*, not having been able to come up soon enough to its succour, nor afterwards to engage the count of *Mansfield* to a battle, which he offered to him, received orders from the king to sit down before *Laon*,

*Laon*, whither his majesty himself came afterwards in person. A. D.

1594.

The town was obliged to surrender by capitulation, in the month of *July*, notwithstanding the strength of its situation. The king lost there *M. de Givry*, one of his best officers, and the marquis *de Cœuvres*, who died some time after of the wounds he had received in the siege.

About this time the baron *de Pecke*, governor of *Chateau-Thierry*, came over to the royal party. The people of *Amiens* took up arms against the duke *d'Anmale*, forced him out of the town, and then delivered up their city into the king's hands. *Beauvais*, *Peronne*, and *Dourlens*, followed the example of their chief town.

*Balagni*, who had for several years kept possession of *Cambray*, and was devoted to the league, had, for some time past, entered into a treaty with the king. He prevailed upon his majesty, after the taking of *Laon*, to honour that town with his presence, in order to confirm the treaty. Amongst a great many conditions, which were very advantageous to this lord, and some of them very dishonourable to the king; the two principal were, that *Balagni* should be made marshal of *France*, and confirmed in the hereditary possession of *Cambray*, under the protection of the crown of *France*: And thus by an extravagant turn of fortune, and the disorders of the civil wars, a \* bi-

John de Montluc, bishop of Valence.

shop's bastard, whose birth alone should have reduced him to the lowest of the people, became not only marshal of *France*, but withal a sovereign prince. After this the king laid siege to *Noyon*, which was defended, for some time, by the sieur *de Cluseaux*, who was governor of it, but by advice of his friends at court, he treated with the king for the surrender of the place, and his own return to his majesty's obedience.

The advantage of securing this frontier against the *Spaniards*, rendered the king's conquest on that side very considerable. The truce which he made with the duke of *Lorraine* was not the least serviceable to him; but his coming to an accommodation with the duke of *Guise*, which fell out about the same time, was  
a finish-



*A. D.* a finishing stroke, and reduced the league to the last extremity.

1594.

The baron *de Rosni* was employed in bringing this important negotiation to a conclusion, which others had before attempted, but without any success: and one of the principal conditions was this, that the duke of *Guise* should have the government of *Provence* instead of *Champagne*, which he was possessed of.

As soon as the treaty was ratified, *Rheims*, *S. Disier*, *Rocroy*, *Guise*, *Joinville*, and some other places the duke was master of, submitted to the king.

The neighbourhood of the king, and his army, had contributed very much to the reducing the towns of *Picardy*, and *Champagne*, to their duty; but he could not be present in all places, and the league, though almost wholly defeated every where else, was still supported in *Brittany*, by means of the *Spaniards* whom the duke of *Mercœur* had introduced there.

The marshal *d' Aumont*, who was at the head of the king's troops in this province, made however a considerable progress. *S. Malo*, *Concarneau*, *Rhedon*, and *Morlaix*, submitted, the first of themselves, and the last after a siege.

In the mean time the duke of *Nemours* found means to escape out of prison at *Pierre-Encise*, and his escape, for some time, revived the war in the *Lyonnois*. By the assistance of three thousand *Swiss*, whom the duke of *Savoy* had sent him, and some other troops, he took *Feurs* in *Fores*, and three or four other small places; but the connestable *Montmorenci* and *Lefdiguieres*, having ordered succours to march towards that side of the country, he gave over his conquests, and was obliged to leave the field.

The commotions in *Provence* were very considerable. In the beginning of this year 1594. the town of *Aix* had acknowledged the king, and sent deputies to the court, to demand the confirmation of their privileges. This resolution disconcerted the duke of *Espernon*, since by this means he was deprived of an opportunity of satisfying his revenge upon the town. He seemed, however, to be well pleased, and sent his compliments to the parliament, and the count of *Carces*. He farther desired they would send him certain deputies

ties to treat of proper measures for restoring a perfect tranquillity in the province. *A. D.*

1594.

To this it was answered, That it was intirely in his power to restore peace to the people, by taking from them the only subject of fear, and dissatisfaction; they could possibly have, which were the citadels he had caused to be built in several places, and particularly the fort or citadel of *S. Eutrope*, which the inhabitants of *Aix* could not see without terror, within musket shot of their town; and lastly, that they would treat with the king himself; and expect his orders.

Upon this answer, the duke pretended that the town of *Aix* persevered in its revolt, since it refused to submit to his will, who was vested with the king's authority, and continued in acts of hostility.

In the mean while *Lefdiguières* having received secret orders from the king, entered *Provence* with his troops, after having declared to the duke of *Espernon*, that he did it by the king's command, with orders to obey him the duke of *Espernon*, so long as he should continue in the service of his majesty.

The duke was not well pleased with this sort of compliment, and instead of an answer, set forward to meet *Lefdiguières* at the head of ten thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, with design to fight him; but having found him very well intrenched, though by much inferior to himself, he did not venture to attack him, so that there passed nothing but little skirmishes and engagements of small parties.

The matter had not rested thus, if the *sieur de la Fin* had not arrived, with orders both to the duke of *Espernon*, and *Lefdiguières*, to lay down their arms. The connestable of *Montmorenci* took upon him the office of mediator in the article of the fort of *St. Eutrope*. It was decreed, That the troops of the duke of *Espernon* should quit the place, and that, till other orders should arrive from the king, the guard of it should be entrusted to the *sieur de la Fin*, as to a neutral person, and then they made a truce between the duke of *Espernon* and the inhabitants of the town of *Aix*.

Whilst matters were in this situation, *Lefdiguières* threw into prison, at *Montelimar*, a captain of the duke of *Espernon*'s troops, by way of reprisal for *S. Bon-*

*A. D.* 1594. *not*, captain of his guard, whom the duke had taken up, notwithstanding a passport which himself had given him. The duke to revenge himself for the seizure of his officer, performed certain acts of hostility, and this was what *Lestiguieres* wanted, that he might charge the duke with breaking the truce, and put in execution an enterprize he had long ago designed. This was to surprize the fort of *S. Eutrope*; and he executed it on the eighth of *July*.

Hist. de Lest.  
diguieres,  
l. 5. c. 5.

As soon as he was master of the place, he introduced the citizens, and commanded the town to send pioneers to raze the fort. No command was ever executed with so much readines and joy. Persons of all conditions set their hands to the work, and at the end of twenty-four hours, there did not remain one stone upon another.

Upon this news *Frejus* expelled the duke's garrisons. *Lestiguieres* left the command of his troops to the count of *Carces*, and returned into *Dauphiny* with the cavály he had brought. The hostilities were continued on both sides, notwithstanding a truce of three months, which the connestable had obliged both parties to consent to. Towards the end of this year 1594, was brought the news of the treaty the duke of *Guise* had made with the king, by which he was confirmed in the government of *Provence*. This was a new thunder-stroke to the duke of *Espernon*, but did not put an end to the troubles of this province.

In the mean while the duke of *Savoy* did not fail to make his advantage of these disorders, and the absence of *Lestiguieres*. He attacked *Briqueras*, and took it, after having lost a great number of his men. *Lestiguieres*, on the other side, that he might preserve a communication with *Piedmont*, and not lose *Calvois*, took a fort which the duke of *Savoy* had raised upon a hill, not far from *Pignerol*.

The duke of *Mayenne* was indisputably embarrassed to see the king's affairs take so happy a turn in almost all parts of the kingdom. He went to *Brussels* to confer with the archduke, upon proper expedients for preventing the intire ruin of the league. He perceived that the *Spanish* ministers had already done him bad services with the king of *Spain*, and that even upon the instances of the duke of *Feria*, and *Diego de Ybarra*, it



it was debated in the council of *Brussels*; Whether he should not be put under arrest, and committed to custody? but the archduke, either through a generosity of temper, or because he was unwilling to take a step which would have made so great a noise, without express orders from the court of *Spain*, did not yield to the proposition; but suffered the duke of *Mayenne* to return. The reason which the duke of *Mayenne* alleged for his conduct, and want of resolution, was, That the pope had never yet acknowledged the king, and had refused to give him absolution; and he urged extremely, upon this head, the treatment the duke of *Nevers* had met with at *Rome*, who was obliged to depart thence without having been able to obtain any favour. The cause of the league however was not so successful at *Rome* as he imagined, as will appear hereafter, when I have related an accident that befel the king, on the twenty-seventh of *December*, upon his return to *Paris*.

His majesty arriving from *Picardy*, and being yet in the chamber of the marchioness de *Monceaux*, in the hotel de *Scomberg*, behind the *Louvre*, and surrounded by the princes and courtiers, a young fellow came into the room without being perceived, and advancing towards his majesty, gave him a blow with a knife, designing to have cut his throat. But the king, by a peculiar happiness, having bent forward that very moment, in order to embrace the sieurs de *Raigui* and *Montigni*, who then saluted him, he received the blow on the right side of his upper lip, which by its violence broke one of his teeth.

The assassin was a draper's son of *Paris*, named *John Châtel*, and was immediately taken up. Upon notice of the king's being wounded, the whole city was in alarm; but as soon as they heard that he was in no danger, they ran in troops to *Noire-Dame* to return God thanks for having preserved his majesty by so great a deliverance. Then *Te Deum* was sung upon the occasion, and the king himself assisted at the solemnity. It was upon this incident a terrible tempest was raised against the jesuits, or rather the storm, that had long been gathering, was at that time discharged at once.

*Lettres du  
roy au sieur  
Dupleffis.  
Mornay du  
27. de De-  
cember.  
Memoires de  
Chiverni.*

A. D.  
1594.

The assassin being examined, according to custom, said, amongst other things, that he had studied under the jesuits. Nothing more was wanting to the enemies of that society to involve them in the process, and to endeavour to destroy them with the criminal. One of them was put to death, some others imprisoned, and the rest banished. However the parliament of *Bordeaux*, and *Toulouse*, did not judge it expedient to conform to the decree of the parliament of *Paris*, and retain'd the jesuits in their district.

The banishment of the jesuits was prosecuted with an excessive heat, as we learn from the first president *de Harly* himself, in the remonstrance he made to the king some years after by way of opposition to their re-settlement, as it is given us in the history of the president *de Thou*, who was present upon this occasion. There was no order of trial, \* says the first president, observed at that conjuncture, and the parties were condemned without a hearing; for which he gives this reason, That at that time they thought it their duty to behave as in a popular motion, or publick rapine, considering the danger the king had run, and the consternation the parliament was in. The circumstance at the same time that it shews the just zeal of that illustrious body for the preservation of his majesty's person, so it takes off very much from the ignominy which was thrown upon the society by their banishment.

But what fully justifies the jesuits, was the manner of their being re-called a few years after by the king, the favours he heaped upon them, and, more than all the rest, the confidence he had in them ever after, without any testification of a future repentance, in which the successors of this great and wise prince have thought fit to imitate him, and, if I may be allowed to say it, to go beyond him, notwithstanding the frequently repeated efforts of so many mighty cabals which

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To factum & tanti periculi sensu attoniti patres non servato juris ordine, neq; partibus auditis, ut in seditione & publica grassatione, societatem toto regno tam salutari senatus consulto exulare jusserint. Thuan. lib. 132.

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were formed to ruin them in the opinion of their majesties.

The duke of *Mayenne* look'd upon the banishment of the jesuits as an affair that would do him service with the pope, and raise in him a very bad notion of the king; and supported his hope by the departure of the duke of *Nevers*, the arrival of the cardinal *de Joyeuse* at *Rome*, and the great credit that the *Spaniards* preserved there still.

But as to the departure of the duke of *Nevers*, he was ignorant that *d'Offat*, whom he did not in the least suspect, because he made no figure in this country, was the king's secret agent with *Clement* the eighth; that the cardinal of *Gondi*, who at last had obtained permission to go to *Rome*, had made a great impression upon the pope, and prevailed upon him; that monsieur *du Perron*, who was nominated to the bishoprick of *Evreux*, should have leave to attend upon his holiness from the king; infomuch, that *d'Offat* himself, in certain conferences he held with cardinal *Aldobrandin*, had discovered, that the pope was under some uneasy apprehensions, lest the court of *France* should form a difficulty in reference to the journey of monsieur *de Perron*.

*D'Offat's*  
Letters, in  
the years  
1594, and  
1595.

But the greatest subject of the duke of *Mayenne's* disquiet, and which might plainly let him see the pope was changed, was, that the cardinal *de Joyeuse* having had an audience on the twenty-fourth of *January* upon his arrival at *Rome*, and demanded succours of men and money, had no other answer, than that as to the troops which were asked, he could come to no resolution till the matter had been communicated to the king of *Spain*; and for money, he must no longer expect any money from him, for he was obliged to be at a great expence in assisting the christians of *Hungary* against the *Turk*.

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As to the banishment of the jesuits, his reasoning was better grounded. For, indeed, the pope was very much offended with it, and the more as he was informed, that they had been treated in this manner at the instigation of certain hugonot lords of the court; that it was still in doubt, whether they would not banish ministers, capuchins, and carthusians; that this instance of the king's conduct, could not but



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make the sincerity of his conversion suspected; and, indeed, this affair was the subject of divers audiences, which *d'Offat* had with the pope and cardinal *Aldobrandin*, where he endeavoured to bring them to temper, and remove the misconstructions, which had arose from the like informations that were sent to *Rome* by every courier, which came from *France* on the part of the league.

Soliers' Hist.  
of the Edict  
of Nantes,  
l. 7.

The advices the king received hereupon from *M. d'Offat*, did not fail to make him uneasy; but he judged very prudently, that these difficulties would soon blow over, if he pursued his victory against the leaguers, and he hoped, that after he had crush'd this faction, he should be able to bring the hugonots to a better temper, who already began to give him trouble, and carried their boldness so far, as to hold seditious assemblies.

He therefore resolved to attack the duke of *Mavenne* in his government of *Burgundy*, where his principal forces lay, and the towns that were best affected to him. He proceeded farther, and declared war against the *Spaniards* in form. It is true, indeed, that since the death of *Henry* the third, the two kings had been constantly at war, but notwithstanding this, the frontiers of the two estates had a commerce between themselves, which was no longer allowed after the declaration of war. The king used this formality to satisfy the hugonots, who pressed him to it, and sought for all opportunities of rendring the two kings irreconcilable, as being apprehensive, that if they should ever agree, they would unite between themselves, to exterminate the hugonots religion in *France* and the *Low-Countries*. The king even gave the command of the troops designed against the *Spaniards*, to the duke of *Bouillon*, whom the calvinists look'd upon as their support and chief, which was a character the king suspected that the duke aspired to, and therefore was willing to gratify, by this object, those turbulent spirits, lest they should interrupt him in his conquests over the leaguers.

Upon the mareschal *de Biron*'s drawing near to *Burgundy*, the president *Jannin* wrote to the duke of *Mavenne* to come thither immediately, that the mareschal had already intelligence in the province, and that

that he run the risque of losing the towns one after another as he had already lost *Avalon*, *Macon*, and *Auxerre*. A. D.  
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He discovered, indeed, upon his arrival, that *Jacques Verne*, mayor of *Dijon*, had held intelligence with the king, upon which he caused him to be beheaded.

This example did not hinder the citizens of *Beaune* from treating secretly with the mareschal de *Biron*, to whom they gave up their town. *Monmoyen*, who was governor of it, retired into the castle, and made it necessary to besiege him; but after a month's siege, a bridge being made, he was obliged to capitulate and surrender. Not long after, the baron de *Senecai* abandoned the league, and surrendered *Aussonne* to the king. *Nuits* and *Autun* submitted in like manner; and, lastly, the towns-men of *Dijon* having taken arms on a sudden against the viscount de *Tavannes*, who commanded in the town, and *Francis Boyot de Francesque* governor of the castle, and being seconded by the mareschal de *Biron*, who sent them a seasonable assistance, they became masters of the town, and expelled the viscount de *Tavannes*. *Francesque* retired into the castle, and *Tavannes* into the castle of *Talan*, a very strong place at some distance from *Dijon*.

In the mean while, the connestable de *Montmorenci* having gained over the sieur *Diximieus*, governor of *Vienne*, procured this place for the king. It was the only town the duke of *Nemours* had upon the *Rhone*, and from whence the remains of the league in *Auvergne*, *Lyonnais* and *Fores*, might receive any foreign succour. This circumstance made the reduction of this town very considerable, and the duke of *Nemours*, whose principal refuge it was, was so much concerned at the loss, that he fell sick, and after an illness of four months, died at *Amecy*; and thus the king was freed from a dangerous enemy. Upon his death, several small places were given up to the king; the most part of the duke's friends and servants finding it more advantageous to follow these measures, than adhere to a party which every day grew less and less.

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The king being informed that the duke of *Mayenne* was marching through *Franche-Comte* with an army of *Spaniards*, commanded by *Don Velasco*, connestable of *Castile*, to the succour of the two places besieged, he went to join the mareschal *de Biron* with a small body of the army. As soon as he was arrived, he took two or three squadrons to reconnoitre the *Spanish* army: And having advanced too far, he ran the same risque as he had formerly done at *Aumale*; but his courage and the too great precaution of the *Spanish* general, again delivered him out of danger. The general not venturing to hazard a battle, the castles of *Dijon* and *Talan* were obliged to surrender.

The king then entered *Franche-Comte*, harrassed the country, and might have wrought some considerable enterprize, if the *Swiss* had not opposed it. He was unwilling to disoblige them, and consented to the confirmation of the treaty, which had been made in 1580, for the neutrality of this province.

The king then marched to *Lyons* at the solicitation of the connestable, who sent him word that his presence there was necessary, and principally, that he might be able to give more speedy orders for restoring peace and tranquillity in *Provence*. I shall forbear to relate the effects of this journey, till I have mentioned what passed at *Rome* in the mean while, with reference to the grand affair of the king's absolution.

M. *d'Offat* had already made a considerable progress before M. *de Biron* set out from *France*, upon his journey to *Rome*, insomuch that the pope told him one day, in a private audience he had of him, *That he was not ignorant of how great importance the king's reconciliation was to him, and that he was well acquainted both with the interest of the one and the other; and neither Spain nor England should prevent him from doing whatever should be expedient for the advantage of religion and Christendom.* He even acknowledged, that the delays of M. *du Perron* were an uneasiness to him.

The bishop, at last, arrived at *Rome* with very particular and exact instructions. He had orders, as he passed along, to communicate them to the grand duke, who had taken a great deal of pains to make  
the



the court of *Rome* favourable to the king; and to act in concert with M. d' *Offat*.

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The chief of these instructions were, that he should not suffer any conditions to be inserted in the treaty, which might be prejudicial to the king's honour and interest; as for instance, the obliging him, before he received absolution, to treat of a peace with the king of *Spain* or the duke of *Savoy*, or his rebel subjects; to make war upon the hugonots, or break with princes and powers of a different religion; and particularly to prevent, that upon no account they should make use of the term of re-inabling him to possess the crown of *France*. And further, to prevent all long delays, M. du *Perron* declared to the pope, that he had orders to return to *France* within thirty days; and to remove all doubt the pope might have upon this subject, he caused it to be reported, as he passed through *Florence* and *Bologne*, and afterwards at *Rome*, that he was forbid to dispatch any courier into *France* before the matter was brought to a conclusion; and this was his general answer, with reference to several difficulties which were raised in the course of this negotiation, upon which they proposed to him to send back to the court, to demand an explication.

The affair was at last concluded in such a manner as might prove agreeable to the king, and accordingly he was satisfied with it. The seventeenth of *December* was appointed by the pope for performing the ceremony, which was solemnized with a deal of magnificence; and as soon as the pope had pronounced the last words of the absolution, the sound of drums and trumpets was heard from all parts, which were answered by the cannon of the castle of *S. Angelo*, to the great mortification of the embassador of *Spain* and the whole *Spanish* faction. The people expressed, by their acclamations, an incredible joy; and several of them set the arms of *France* upon the doors of their houses, and all seemed mighty forward to get a copy of the king's picture, which had been before engraved, in order to be distributed in great numbers after the ceremony. The bull of absolution was drawn up a few days after, and sent into *France*. Upon the receipt of it, the king wrote to all the bishops, and enjoined them to make a solemn thanksgiving to God,

The 32d  
Letter of M.  
d'Offat, in  
the year  
1595.

for

A. D. 1595. for having brought about so desirable an event. He then wrote letters of acknowledgment to the pope and cardinals upon the same subject; but in such terms, and after such a manner, as was extremely serviceable to him, in drawing over that court into his interest, and making it as favourable to him, as before it had opposed him.

The war, which had been declared against *Spain*, produced scarcely any other effect on the part of *France*, during the present campaign, than the ravages which were made by the duke of *Bouillon* in *Luxembourg*; the most part of the king's forces being employed in *Burgundy* and elsewhere.

The king, in the mean time, arrived at *Lyons* on the fourth of *September*. He was there received with so extraordinary magnificence, that the splendor of it eclipsed all the entries he had made into the other towns; and here he had the satisfaction of seeing the archbishop of *Lyons*, who had formerly been the soul of the league, and the council of the duke of *Mayenne*, come at the head of his clergy, to pay him obedience.

Several matters of importance passed during the king's abode at *Lyons*. The government of the *Lyonnois*, which had been possessed by the late duke of *Nemours*, was given by his majesty to M. de la *Guiche*, who gave up his office of grand master of the artillery to M. de *S. Luc*.

M. de *Bois-Dauphin*, who was at the head of the league in *Anjou* and *Maine*, came over to the king's party. His dignity of marshal of *France*, which had been given him by the league, was confirmed to him, after the signing of the treaty, in which the king would not agree he should take this title. And thus was verified again the prediction which M. de *Chaulon* had made to the duke of *Mayenne*, with reference to his creating four marshals of *France*; That he had made bastards, who would one day become legitimate at his own expence. This was true of the marshals de *la Chatre* and *Bois-Dauphin*; but du *Rosna*, who was the third, wore the red scarf, and continued with the *Spaniards*: as to S. *Paul*, who was the fourth, he had been killed by the duke of *Guise*, who was offended at his haughty behaviour.

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The king was still at *Lyons*, when he received certain advice of his absolution at *Rome*, which news determined the duke of *Joyeuse* to return to his obedience with *Toulouse* and the other towns of that country, which he preserved in the interest of the league; and, lastly, the final blow was given by the treaties of truce, which the king made there with the dukes of *Mayenne* and *Savoy*.

The duke of *Mayenne*, who had been so ill supported by the *Spaniards* in the defence of the castles of *Dijon* and *Talan* plainly saw he could never rely upon them, and taking occasion from the pope's resolution to absolve the king, whose refusal had hitherto served as a pretext to continue the war, he sent to his majesty at *Lyons* an offer of a truce. The king was not ignorant in what disorder the duke's affairs were, but he was unwilling to drive him to an extremity.

The truce was granted for three months; but amongst other conditions which the king required, he insisted upon a promise, that in this interval, they should seriously and sincerely negotiate a treaty of peace.

As to the duke of *Savoy*, he had recovered *Cabours*, and the neighbourhood of the king, which very much annoy'd him, had obliged him to treat of peace with his majesty, by means of the sieur *Zamet*, who had divers conferences with the president *de Sillery*; but the duke, who always acted by the impressions of the court of *Spain*, could not comply with the propositions that were made him, tho' much to his advantage; and all ended in a truce, till the end of this present year 1595.

*Lefdiguieres* made use of the time of the truce to make his court. When he came to *Lyons*, the king was running at the ring in the *place de Bellecourt*. His majesty, having perceived him at a distance, directed his lance towards him, and said, smiling, *Ah! you old kuganot, you'll die as you've lived.* *Lefdiguieres* having leaped to the ground in a moment, to salute his king, whom he had not seen for a long time, was received with all the careffes, which his great services deserved. His majesty assured him, there was nothing in his power, but that he might lay claim to, and the next day he made him counsellor of state, and sent him



A. D. the warrant by the *seigneur de Calignon* chancellor of  
1595. *Navarre*.

The king was inclined to leave *Lyons*, and go into *Picardy*, where some misunderstanding had arose amongst the commanding officers of his army; but the *connestable de Montmorenci* represented to him, that it was a matter of the utmost importance not to remove far from *Provence*, till all things were pacified in that country: For the duke of *Espernon* and the *Provençals*, giving way to their mutual hatred, were continually in arms, and notwithstanding the treaty that had been made and prolonged for three months, by order from his majesty, there were constant hostilities passed between them.

Before the king went to *Lyons*, his majesty had sent the *seigneur du Frene* counsellor of state into *Provence*, to get information upon the spot, of the truth of those things which the two parties advised him of. He was ordered, if possible, to prevail on the duke of *Espernon* to give up the government of *Provence* of his own accord; assuring him, that he would thereby extremely oblige the king, who would find means to make up the loss. The duke answered this proposition with rage and transport. The *seigneur du Frene* endeavoured to pacify him, but to no purpose; and finding him inflexible, he declared to him, That the king was resolved to have it so, and that he had orders to tell him, if he did not presently obey, he would come in person to drive him out of *Provence*, and make him feel the effects of his indignation. *Let him come,* replies the duke in a fury, *I'll be his harbinger, not to provide him a lodging, but to burn all the houses he might find in his journey.*

Notwithstanding these insolent words, and all other his rodomontades, having more seriously reflected upon the matter, he signed the truce not many days after, which the king had required from both parties. This truce was prolong'd at different times; but was always very ill observed on both sides.

As soon as the king was come to *Lyons*, the duke of *Espernon* had orders to meet him there. He obeyed the summons; but so late, that he was not yet come to *Valence*, when the king was obliged to leave *Lyons* in haste, on the twenty-fourth of *September*, upon  
in-

information that the *Spaniards* were carrying on the siege of *Cambray* with vigour. *A. D.*

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Upon this news, the duke returned into *Provence*, where his affairs took a worse turn than ever. Upon the king's absolution, the city of *Arles*, and the neighbouring towns, who had hitherto refused to acknowledge him, and had preserved a kind of neutrality, submitted to his obedience, and abundance of gentlemen deserted the duke upon the like occasion. The garrison of *Aulps*, which consisted of *Gascon* soldiers, had their throats cut by the towns-men. *Lefdiguieres* was arrived in *Provence* with his soldiers, by order from the king, to instal the duke of *Guise* in the government, and his majesty drew near with his troops to join *Lefdiguieres*. His letters patents were confirmed in *Parliament*, and followed by a most severe decree against the *Gascons*, and all others who should refuse to serve under the duke of *Guise*.

The duke of *Espernon*, notwithstanding all these strokes of ill fortune, and the ambushes which were laid for him by private men, out of which he escaped by a miracle, still kept his ground. He appeared in the field again the next year, as I shall mention, after having related what fell out in the mean while in *Brittany* and *Picardy*; for it was upon that frontier that the war was carried on with most vigour and most successfully in favour of the king.

This year died the arch-duke *Ernest*, governor of the *Low-Countries*, who before his death, had named the count *de Fuentes*, one of the best heads and greatest officers of his time, to command there, 'till new orders should arrive from the court of *Spain*.

He began with the siege of *le Catelet*, which surrendered after a vigorous defence. The duke of *Bouillon*, who commanded the king's troops, repaired this loss by the taking of *Ham*. The count of *Fuentes* made haste to relieve it; but finding it taken, bent his course towards *Dourlens* and sat down before it.

The duke of *Nevers*, who had received orders to take the command of the troops in *Picardy*, being inform'd of the siege of *Dourlens*, set forward to join the army; but the other generals being desirous to signalize themselves before his arrival, resolved to throw a convoy of provisions into the place besieged, with

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fix hundred foot, whom the *mareschal de Bouillon*, the count of *S. Pol*, who by the death of his eldest brother the duke of *Longueville*, was become governor of *Picardy*, and the admiral *de Villars* conducted with a guard of fifteen hundred horse, each of them being at the head of a squadron of five hundred men. The count *de Fuentes* went to meet them, and gave them an intire defeat; the admiral *de Villars* was taken prisoner, and slain by the enemy in cold blood. The *Spaniards* then forced the town and castle of *Dourlens*, and made a great slaughter of the inhabitants, foldiers, and officers.

The duke of *Nevers* enraged against the duke of *Bouillon*, because he had not waited for his coming up, before the expedition I have just mentioned, refused to take upon him the command, and after having held a council of war, it was resolved to canton themselves to cover the *Boulonnois*, and the towns upon the river *Somme*.

The count of *Fuentes* made no farther progress in his victory, and after having given his army a little time to breathe, he led them to *Cambray*, and sat down before it. The *mareschal of Balagni* was master of this place, and, as I have observed, had taken upon him the title of prince of *Cambray* ever since his reconciliation with the king.

The count of *Fuentes* had received a great supply of troops for this enterprize; and as *Cambray* was very troublesome to the neighbouring towns and provinces by the excursions of the garrison, they had all contributed very large sums towards defraying the expences of the siege. The *Spanish* general attacked the town with seventy pieces of cannon, which was a very extraordinary sight at that time of day, that so many pieces of artillery should be employed in a single siege.

Notwithstanding this, and the misunderstanding between the duke of *Nevers* and the duke of *Bouillon*, who could not agree upon the proper means of saving the town, he must necessarily have raised the siege, by reason of the vigorous defence of the besieged, especially after the *sieur de Vic*, who was the most able man in *France* at a defence, had thrown himself into the place, if the hatred of the inhabitants, arising from



from the cruelty and avarice of their new prince, had not engaged them to an insurrection, and to introduce the *Spaniards* of themselves. The garrison retired into the citadel; but finding no provisions to subsist upon, through want of forecast in *Balagni*; they were obliged immediately to capitulate.

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The count of *Fuentes* put a garrison in the citadel, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the archbishop, the king of *Spain* continued ever after absolute master of the place, of which before he had only been protector. After so considerable a conquest, the count of *Fuentes* was received into *Brussels* as in triumph, whilst *Balagni*, deprived of his principality, returned into *France*, and was honoured with no other title than that of a mareschal. The king was already at *Beauvais*, when he learn'd the news of the surrender of *Cambray*, and expressed a great deal of concern upon the occasion. He resolved, however, to pursue his march, and when the duke of *Nevers* represented to him that it could not be to any purpose, he replied in a passion, "You are a proper person, indeed, to give me this advice, who was never yet within less than seven leagues of the town."

These words were a deadly blow to the duke of *Nevers*; he laid them so much to heart, that he fell sick, and died within fifteen days. He was a prince, who had served the state with resolution, under five successive kings, and was allowed to be as wise in council, as he was valiant in war, and stood distinguished for a man of strict honour and virtue, even where his interest and his integrity were brought into competition. The king being informed of his distemper, and the cause of it, was extremely afflicted at the severity of his former expression; and this may be a lesson to princes, how cautious they should be in giving way to their passion.

The king, unwilling to let his troops lie idle, which he had designed for the relief of *Cambray*, employed them in forming the blockade of *la Fere*, which the *Spaniards* had still in their power.

The war in *Brittany* made yet a very considerable diversion, and hindered the king from having the forces that were necessary to resist the *Spaniards* upon the frontiers of *Picardy*; and this is the

A. D. the only military expedition of the present year, that  
1595. remains yet to be spoke of.

There were frequent negotiations with the duke of *Merccœur*, which ended in a truce, that was not made till *December*, and was for four months. Before that time *Bellisle* and *Rhedon* had submitted to the king. The mareschal d'*Aumont* took *Montcontour*, and divers castles, and then laid siege to *Comper*, a fortified town in the bishoprick of *S. Malo*. 'Twas before that paltry place, that this noble lord, who stood recommended by the constant fidelity he had always shown to his lawful princes, and the great services he had done them in their war, lost his life; he was wounded in the arm by a musket-shot, and died not long after at *Montfort*.

The negotiations of peace between the king and the duke of *Lorraine*, were more successful than those of *Brittany*. The treaty, which had been form'd at *S. Germain en Laye* the year before, was brought to a conclusion towards the end of this.

The commotions raised by the hugonots, gave the king no less disturbance than the affairs of *Brittany*. Their assemblies, deputations, complaints and requests, which were all so many indications of a turbulent spirit, occasion'd him no small uneasiness; and he now began mightily to distrust the duke of *Bouillon*, whom he suspected of a design to become head of the party. He endeavour'd, by all possible means, to calm their unquiet temper; but they constantly went away from him dissatisfied, and he plainly perceived, that their disaffection towards him was daily increasing.

He found means nevertheless, to get out of their hands the young prince of *Conde*, who was then but seven years old. This was part of the promise he had made to the pope, that the prince, who was then the presumptive heir to the crown, should be brought up in the catholick religion, as he afterwards was by the care of the marquis de *Pisani*, whom the king appointed his governor, and by *Nicholas le Fevre*, a man of known probity and piety, and of great capacity, who was set over him as preceptor.

A. D. 1596 The next year 1596, began by the treaty of peace, which was at last concluded with the duke of *Mayenne*.

In this treaty the king spoke of the duke of *Mayenne*, not only with moderation and temper, but likewise in terms of advantage, and commended his good intentions. The articles were published to the number of one and thirty, by an edict of the king, made at *Folembray* in the month of *January*. There were certain other secret articles, the principal of which was, that he should give up the government of the dutchy of *Burgundy*, for without this the king would never have made peace with the duke, and in return, his eldest son was to be made governor of the isle of *France* (excepting the town of *Paris*) which was vacant by the death of M. d'O; and this young prince should also be received in parliament as a peer of *France* and duke of *Aiguillon*, and be made grand chamberlain, which office his father had enjoyed, and now restored into the hands of the king.

The duke of *Joyeuse* obtained a particular edict for himself, for *Toulouse*, and the other towns of *Languedoc*, he had under his command, and gained by his treaty the dignity of a mareschal of *France*. The new duke of *Nemours* was also received into favour, and the government general of several places, which he still held on the side of the *Lyonnais* was preserved to him.

This important affair of the duke of *Mayenne's* submission being finished, the duke obtained leave of the king to kiss his majesty's hand at *Monceaux*. He was received in as kind a manner as he could have wished; nor was there ever any reconciliation more sincere. From this time the duke absolutely renounced all private designs, and so behaved himself, that the king afterwards reposed in him the highest confidence, and employ'd him in his most important affairs.

This event caus'd great reasoning and reflection, upon the intention of the duke of *Mayenne*, upon his conduct from the time he was declared the head of the league, after the death of his two brothers, upon the opportunity he had lost of making a treaty with the king, which might have been more advantageous to him and his family; and the conclusion of all was, that as great a man, and as experienced an officer as he was, he neither knew how to make war nor peace as he ought.



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After the duke of *Mayenne* was returned to his obedience, the king had nothing more to fear from the side of *Burgundy*, and this treaty gave him an opportunity of putting an end to the troubles in *Provence*.

The duke of *Espernon* refused to quit the country, notwithstanding the orders of the court; and tho' *Lesaiguières* and the duke of *Guise* had gained great advantages over him, he still kept the field. But the duke of *Guise* had another design, which he thought to execute, before he engaged more vigorously with his competitor, and this was to make himself master of *Marseilles*.

The town was govern'd, or rather tyranniz'd over by two men, one of them named *Charles of Casaux*, who was chief consul, and the other a magistrate, named *Lewis of Aix*, who, contrary to custom and the privileges of the towns-men, had kept themselves for six years in these employments, by the same violences they had at first obtained them. They had carried their insolence so far, as publickly to burn the king's picture. All their support lay in the king of *Spain*, and they were resolved, in case of an attack, to deliver up the place to him. They had even the fleet of admiral *Doria* in the port, and a party of *Spanish* soldiers lodged in the town.

The most honest part of the inhabitants of *Marseilles* groaned to see they were subjected to so base a yoke; but none of them durst venture to shake it off, so narrowly were all those watched, whom they suspected of any disaffection; so that the town did not recover its liberty by their means.

The author of it was one *Peter Libertat*. He was a native of *Corfica*, and of great authority with the two tyrants; insomuch, that they had made him captain of the *Porte Royale*, which was the only gate they kept open every morning, till they had sent out their scouts for intelligence to prevent surprize. This stranger, who had both a good head, and a good heart, and was still more careful of his own fortune than that of his patrons, reflected how difficult it would be to hold out against the king's power and all the forces of the province; that, sooner or later, they must fall either by open force, or the secret ambushes, which

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which were every day laid for them, and that their fall would draw his along with it; after mature deliberation, resolved to treat with the duke of *Guise* for the delivery of the town.

The seventh of *February* was appointed for the execution. The duke made divers marches, that he might take away all suspicion, and came to *Marseilles* at the day appointed, and set his troops in order. Measures had been taken for seizing upon *Casaux* and *Lewis d'Aix*, who never failed every morning to visit the outside of the place, and what lay about it. At this moment *Libertat* was charged to let down the port-cullis of the port-royal to shut them out, and at the same time the troops of the duke of *Guise* were disposed to surround and seize upon them: But by misfortune *Casaux* being taken ill in the night, he chanc'd not to go out that morning. There was only *Lewis d'Aix*, who made the usual visit with his musketeers on horseback. He perceived certain horse at a distance, against whom he detach'd the most resolute of his troops, who fell upon them very briskly.

The duke of *Guise* observing this, and that there were no other signals given from the town, thought the enterprize had been discovered, and was in doubt whether he should not retire, when word was brought him that the port-cullis was down. Upon which he advanced some of his troops towards the town; but they no sooner appeared, than the cannon of the rampart, and the fort of *Notre-Dame de la Garde* began to play upon them, and obliged them to retire to the plain of *S. Michael*. This confirmed the duke in the notion that he was betrayed; however, he was not over eager in making his retreat, and only put himself in a condition to repulse the garrison in case of a sally.

*Libertat* in the mean while, considering the danger he was in, lost no time, and acted the part of a man of resolution. He was persuaded that *Lewis* of *Aix* being without, if he could but get rid of *Casaux*, who remained in the town, the royalists and the people, seeing themselves delivered from both, would join him against the *Spaniards*, and the rest of the faction.

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He sent to tell *Casaux*, that his presence was necessary at the *Porte-Royale*, and besought him to come thither immediately. *Casaux* came forthwith, attended by twelve musqueteers. *Libertat*, who had only two of his brothers with him, and two of his cousins, stood between the two gates, with his sword in his hand. *Casaux* addressing himself to him, *Well, Captain*, says he, *What is the matter? Why, M. le Consul*, replies *Libertat*, *this is the insurrection you were sent for to see*; and at the same time gave him a blow with his sword a-crośs the body, and laid him upon the ground. The musqueteers, who guarded *Casaux*, put themselves upon their defence, and gave *Libertat* several blows; but he, and the four who attended him, charged them with so much vigor, that after having killed the sergeant, he put them to flight, and immediately cried out, *Long live the king*. The people, in the surprize, answered in the same cry, which passed from street to street, and several royalists came in arms to join *Libertat*. The noise which was made in the town, caused *Lewis d' Aix* to bend his course thither, but finding the portcullis down, he plainly saw that things went ill; but in hopes to provide a remedy, and resolving to perish in the attempt if he did not, he went to the foot of the wall, where five hundred *Spaniards* were posted, caused himself to be drawn up with cords, and at the head of four hundred of his faction, he marched toward the *Porte-Royal*. He was repulsed by *Libertat*, and went to secure himself in the *Corps de Garde* of the town-house.

During this tumult, *Libertat* sent captain *Imperiale* to the duke of *Guise*, to inform him of what had passed, and pressed him to make haste to his assistance: The duke set forward with all his horse, whom the foot followed as fast as they could, and the portcullis being taken up, he seized on the gate.

*Lewis d' Aix* was fortunate enough to make his escape, and lay concealed some days in the country, till at last, for the reward of a gold chain, and a turquise, a fisherman carried him in his boat to the fleet of admiral *Doria*, who seeing the town lost, had put to sea. Thus was this considerable place reduced to the king's obedience. When his majesty learnt the



news of what had happened, he said, with an air of joy, 'tis now I am king. And indeed, so long as this haven was open to the Spaniard, and the duke of Savoy, he had always ground to be apprehensive of danger.

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The duke of Guise gave *Libertat*, immediately, by way of recompence, the *Viguiers-staff*, and offices to his relations and friends. His majesty, not long after, confirmed him in this employment, and added to it the command of two gallies, with that of the *Porte-Royale*, and the fort of *Notre-Dame de la Garde*. The extraordinary action he had performed was ingraven upon a marble; and a copper plate, and was placed in the town-house, and the next year after his death they erected a statue to him in the same place.

The taking of *Marseilles* was also a blow which humbled the high spirit of the duke of *Espernon*, who having also lost *S. Tropes*, was obliged intirely to quit the field. *M. de Roquelaure*, who had ever been his friend, made his peace with the king, who, for private reasons, gave him still the government of *Limosin*, by way of recompence for that of *Provence*; the situation of his affairs obliging him to manage otherwise than at another time he would have done.

The joy which the king received from this success in *Provence*, was allayed by the disgrace that befel him in *Picardy*.

The archduke *Albert* of *Austria*, though then a cardinal, was come into the *Low-Countries*, to take upon him the government, which the count of *Fuentes* only held till his arrival. As he brought with him a very large body of excellent troops, he thought of signalizing his government by some important expedition.

His first view was to raise the blockade of *La Fere*, which was hard pressed; but not venturing to hazard a battle against an army where the king commanded in person, he resolved upon a diversion. After several marches and countermarches, he fixed at last upon the siege of *Calais*. *Du Rosne*, one of the four marshals of the league, who, as I have already mentioned, had taken the red-scarf, and would soon have quitted it if it had been in his power, was not only the

A. D. author, but also the principal executor of this important enterprize.

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*Vidossan* was governor of *Calais*, a man of resolution, but without experience in the defence of a town, and one who had sought more to enrich himself by commerce and contribution, than to put the town in a condition of a vigorous defence, insomuch that he was mightily surprized. *Du Rosne* presently made himself master of the bridge of *Nieulai*, and afterwards of *Risban*. The inhabitants in a consternation pressed the governor to surrender, and he had not authority enough to keep them within the bounds of duty: He beat a parley, and retired into the castle. The castle was vigorously attack'd, and carried by an assault, on the twenty-fourth of *April*. *Vidossan* fell, like a brave man, in the breach, and by this means escaped the punishment he deserved. This conquest did not take up the archduke above fifteen days.

*Du Rosne* proposed, in council, the siege of *Ardes*, and his advice was followed by the archduke, against the opinion of the majority who were present: however, he carried his purpose, and took the place. The count *de Belin*, who was formerly zealous for the league, was accused of having surrendered, either through treachery, or negligence. This gave the king a fresh uneasiness, who but the day before was become master of *La Fere*, and was preparing to march against the *Spaniards*, and raise the siege of *Ardes*.

No other considerable enterprizes fell out upon the frontiers of *Picardy*, and the *Low-Countries*, after the month of *May*, when *Ardes* was taken by the *Spaniards*, and *La Fere* by the king. There was then made also a new treaty of alliance offensive and defensive between *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, against *Spain*.

About this time a legate from the pope arrived in *France*, and was received with very great honours. This legate was cardinal *Alexander de Medicis*. He was a man of probity and wisdom, of moderation and integrity, and of a free open temper. By these qualifications he became not only very agreeable, but also very useful to the king. They both acted in concert, and the legate, according to his instructions, proposed

only

only two ends in the exercise of his legatine power: The one was, to see that the king performed the promises made at his absolution, and the other, to prevent the remains of the league from raising new troubles in the kingdom, and to reduce such of them as should still endeavour to keep up the party, to the obedience due to their rightful sovereign.

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The second article concerned only the duke of *Mercoeur*. The legate wrote to him, and let him know, that if he did not return to his duty, he might expect an excommunication from the holy see. For being constantly solicited, and supported by the king of *Spain*, and possessed with the vast projects his ambition had contrived, he continued to form delays. *Du Plessis-Mornay*, who was principally employed in the conduct of this affair, gave notice of it to the king, and assured him that the only means of reducing the duke, would be for his majesty to come into *Brittany* at the head of his troops. But the inroads the *Spaniards* had made into *Picardy*, did not allow him to remove from thence to so great a distance; and he was not in a condition to make use of this expedient till above a year after.

One of the greatest misfortunes the king's ill success in *Picardy* had produced, was the insolence of the hugonots, who became daily more and more untractable, as they saw his majesty was not in a condition to contain them within the bounds of duty.

They called an assembly in form by their own authority, and in opposition to the king, where the deputies of the several churches of the kingdom met together: They made regulations, seized upon the money, which had been collected by the receivers of the province, to support the garrisons which had been granted them during the civil wars, by way of security. They made deputations to the king with such demands as he could not grant without disobliging all the catholicks: They abolished the mass in all places where they were strongest, and this in direct contradiction to the edicts of pacification.

The king took care to represent to them the consequences of the demands they made him, his own inability to grant them, the ill situation of his affairs upon the frontiers of *Picardy*, and how the enemy

made



A. D. 1596. made their advantage of the division, which their opinionatry and stiffness caused in the kingdom; the concessions he made upon some particular points gave them no satisfaction, and the assembly of *Vendome* answered the *seur de Vic*, and *de Caignon*, whom the king had sent to reduce them to reason, with the utmost insolence, "That they could not be satisfied with the said answers, neither in point of religion, justice, nor security; and that the oppression they generally suffered, obliged them to seek some redress in themselves, if the council would not take care to provide for them."

These last words, *That they should be obliged to seek for some redress in themselves*, plainly shewed their design of having recourse to arms, and forming an insurrection, and the resolution they took of leaving *Vendome*, and removing the assembly to *Saumur*, by their own authority, where they would be nearer the places they were masters of beyond the *Loire*, abundantly confirmed it.

A. D. 1597. This was the situation of affairs when the unfortunate news was brought of the surprize of *Amiens* by the *Spaniards*. The negligence of the citizens, and their absolute refusal to admit a *Swiss* garrison, which the king would have sent them, under pretence of their privileges, brought upon them this misfortune.

The contriver of this design was *Hernand Teillo Porto Carrero*, governor of *Dourlens*, who carried it on with a great deal of judgment, and executed it very successfully, and the archduke, by way of recompence, made him governor of *Amiens*. This event might have been attended with such fatal consequences, as in such a conjuncture would have shock'd the courage of a person of less resolution than his majesty; but being thoroughly sensible of the misfortune, he applied himself to provide a remedy.

His design was to recover *Amiens*, but this could not be done without a great deal of money. The *baron de Rosni*, who was counsellor of the finances, furnished him with a supply, and this procured him the superintendance of the finances, which his majesty had designed him of a long time.

The king, assured of this succour, set out from *Paris*, a few days after, to secure the frontiers. The  
marchal

mareschal de Biron began the blockade of *Amiens* with four thousand men, and the king having passed the *Somme*, fell short of surprizing *Arras* by a misfortune, which fell out thus. After he had seized upon the draw-bridges, and had broken the two gates with a petard, the person employed to blow up the port-cullis was slain, and beat back into the fosse by the stones which fell from above the gate, and this gave time to the garrison, and townsmen, to put themselves upon their defence, and the king was obliged to retire.

His greatest difficulty arose from the hugonots, who made use of this conjuncture to demand of him still more than they had hitherto done, and deputed to him *Constans*, governor of *Marans*, not only to report their demands, but also openly to threaten war in case of refusal. The king heard his audacious harangue with the moderation, these frequent insults, sometimes from the hugonots, and sometimes from the catholicks, had accustomed him to for so many years, and sent back the deputies with general assurances, that provided the calvinists would continue faithful to him, they should always find him a protector, and a father. He was then perfectly convinced that the duke of *Bouillon* was the principal author of all these troubles, as being desirous to become head of the party; and he no longer doubted of it, after having invited both him and the duke de *la Trimouille* to the siege of *Amiens*, and they both refused to come.

In the mean time the king had begun to lay siege to *Amiens*, which was long attended with doubtful success; but, at last, by his vigilance, constancy, and valour, he carried his point, to his eternal honour.

The archduke came to release it at the head of a numerous army, but the king having offered him battle, he refused to accept it. He retired from *Amiens*, and upon his retreat the town was surrendered. *Porto Carrero* was slain during the course of the siege. It was no small advantage to the king, that by his negotiations for six or seven months past, he had prevented the hugonots from running into the last extravagances; and

Hist. de Lef.  
diguieres, 16.  
ch. 3.

*A. D.* and after this conquest, he found himself in a condition to be less apprehensive of them.

1597.

Whilst all this passed upon the frontier of the kingdom, *M. de Luxembourg* went to *Rome* as ambassador extraordinary from the king, and there made a compliment of his obedience to the pope, who from that time was seriously inclined to form a peace between the two kings. The general of the *Cordeliers*, whom he had sent into *Spain* upon this affair, to inform himself of the intentions of king *Philip* the second, returned from his journey, and brought word that his majesty consented to a treaty of peace between him and the king of *France*: And in consequence of the orders which the archduke had received hereupon, he sent the president *Richardot* to the frontiers, to hold a conference there with monsieur *de Villeroy*. *M. de Sillery* was also gone into *Piedmont*, to the duke of *Savoy*, with the same design, who notwithstanding made great preparations for war.

These preparations of the duke of *Savoy* obliged *M. de Lesdiguières* to leave the court, who returned into *Dauphiny* with the titles of the king's lieutenant of the province, and lieutenant general of the armies in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, and with his usual diligence prevented the duke, made himself master of *S. John de Maurienne*, and the passage of mount *Cenis*.

The duke of *Savoy* came to *Montmelian*, and drew up his army at *Conflans*, and gave the command of it to the count *Martinegue*. *Lesdiguières* came by night to the bridge of *Montmelian*, which he broke on the side of *France*, that he might be able, as he did, to seize upon *la Rochete*, the tower *Charbonniere*, and certain other castles, and to prevent the duke of *Savoy* from easily making any farther inroad on that side.

When the duke of *Savoy* had got all his troops together, to the number of seven thousand foot, and between seven or eight hundred horse, finding himself much stronger than *Lesdiguières*, his army passed the *Isere* over a bridge, which he had built with design to seize upon *Poncarras*, and by that means to enter into *Dauphiny*.

*Lesdiguières*



*Lesdiguieres* advanced towards him, and formed so strong an intrenchment, that the duke durst not venture to attack him. The armies were five days in sight of each other, and frequent skirmishes, in the mean while, passed between them; but the duke beginning to want provisions, resolved upon the attack of *Lesdiguieres's* camp.

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The attack was made with a great deal of vigour, but very unfortunately for the duke of *Savoy*. He had between one thousand and twelve hundred of his men killed or wounded to no manner of purpose, partly in the attack, and partly in the retreat, where he was briskly pursued.

This campaign was little else than a continued series of defeats in the duke's army. Being desirous to make a diversion in the *Brianconnois*, *d'Ise-Rosans*, who commanded in *Exiles*, defeated colonel *Pontus*, and killed him twelve hundred of his men. *La Beaumen d'Ostun* and *S. Jurs*, gained a victory over five hundred horse in *Gresvaudan*; two hundred horse were slain in the action, and eighty were taken prisoners, amongst whom were several persons of quality, and the count of *Salins* among the rest, who had the command.

The *Savoyards* were again beaten near *Barcelonette*, and afterwards at *Romans* in *Dauphiny*, where the duke expected to have surpriz'd the citadel. After all these exploits, the winter obliged the two armies to quit the field, the duke being more determined than ever, by the ill success of this year's war, to make peace as soon as might be.

The taking of *Amiens* began to make the hugonots somewhat more tractable. The king spoke to them in another tone, than he had formerly done. He forbid their assemblies, and declared, that the next spring he would march into *Brittany* at the head of an army, to exterminate the remains of the league.

As *Brittany* lies near to *Poitou*, the hugonots of that province were very apprehensive, that part of the tempest, which hung over the neighbouring country, would fall upon them. For this reason, they kept themselves within bounds, nor were there wanting several gentlemen among them, who made their court to the king, at the expence of the rest, and revealed to him

A. D. him such secrets, as he improved to his advantage.  
 1598. This plainly let the king see, of what importance it was to him, that he had recovered *Amiens*.

Memoires de  
 Sully, l. 1.  
 c. 78.

The king did not delay to put in execution what he had given our, concerning his expedition into *Brittany*. He appointed the connettable *de Montmorency* to guard the frontiers of *Picardy*, and left with him a body of six thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, and on the eighteenth of *February* he set forward, at the head of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, and twelve pieces of ordnance.

He had hardly begun his march, before he learn'd, by experience, what the *British* lords of his party had frequently told him, That his presence alone would suffice to make the rebels return to their obedience. The governors of the several places in *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and the lesser *Brittany*, whom the duke of *Mercoeur* had kept in his party, came, or sent to meet the king, and assured him of their resolution to put the places they held into his majesty's hands, and this indeed they performed without any delay.

The duke of *Mercoeur* had come but poorly off the foregoing year with the mareschal *de Brissac*, who commanded the king's troops in *Brittany*. For tho' this lord had but very few soldiers, he had, notwithstanding, made a considerable slaughter in several small battles, where he always came off with advantage; but the duke affrighted with all these desertions, and despairing to hold out against the king's army, which had already wrought such terrible effects by its bare approach, took the securest method to avoid his utter ruin. He applied himself to the marchioness of *Monceaux*, to whom he knew the king could deny nothing, and having obtained, by her means, a passport for the duchess his wife, he sent her to *Angers*, where the king then was.

The first proposition, by which she demanded, that the government of *Brittany* should remain in the hands of the duke her husband, was rejected. She then made a second, which was the marriage of her only daughter with *Cesar Monsieur* (it was thus they called the king's son by the marchioness of *Monceaux*) and that upon his marriage the government should be given to the young prince. The condition

was

was too advantageous to the marchioness of *Monceaux* not to be accepted of. There were several other articles, by which the king, the duke, the dutchess, and the marchioness of *Monceaux*, heaped riches upon the young couple, who were afterwards to come together. By this means such large possessions were conferred on the house of *Vendome*.

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After this treaty the duke of *Merceur* resigned his government of *Brittany* in form, and submitted to the king, and by his submission the league was intirely destroyed; for the port of *Blaver*, which the *Spaniards* kept still in their hands some months after, was no longer of any assistance to it.

The treaty with the duke of *Merceur* being concluded at *Angers*, his majesty, that he might finish the affair, marched into *Brittany*, where he was hardly known but by the reputation of his valour. His presence mightily encreased the idea which the *Britons* had conceived of him; and the states, of their own motion, made him a present of 800 thousand crowns. After he had tarried some time at *Rennes*, the capital of the province, he went to *Nantes* to put an end to the business of the hugonots, which he did by the famous edict called the edict of *Nantes*, from the name of the town where it was made.

This edict was, in several articles, very favourable to the hugonots, for which reason the parliament made several remonstrances to the king to excuse their confirming it; but in the last audience his majesty gave to the deputies of the parliament of *Paris* upon this subject, he spoke to them with so much force, and made it appear by such evident reasons, that this edict was not only necessary for the tranquillity of the state, but also for the good of religion itself, that they submitted and confirmed it. The other parliaments followed the example of the parliament of *Paris*.

During the king's progress into *Brittany*, the treaty of peace between the two crowns advanced very much at *Vervins*, a small town of *Picardy* in *La Tierache*, which they had made choice of for this important negotiation. The plenipotentiaries of *France* were messieurs de *Bellievre*, and *Sillery*; those of *Spain* were the president *Richardot*, general *Taxis*, and the sieur *Verreiken*. The conferences were made in the presence



A. D. 1598. fence of the legate, the nuncio, and F. Bonaventure Catalagirone general of the *Cordeliers*, who had begun this affair in *Spain* by order from the pope. The treaty was happily concluded, and given into the hands of the legate on the second of *May*.

By this treaty the king of *Spain* restored to *France* whatever he had taken upon the frontiers, viz. *Calais*, *Ardes*, *Montulin*, *Dowlens*, *la Capelle*, and *la Casfelet*; the king, on his side, gave only to the king of *Spain* the free possession of the county of *Charolois*, to be held by him, and his successors, in fee of the crown of *France*.

The duke of *Savoy*, who could hardly get leave that his plenipotentiaries should be received at the conferences, obliged himself to restore the town and castle of *Berre* to the king, which he still held in *Provence*; and for the other differences, they were submitted to the judgment of the pope, who engaged to put an end to them in a year's time. This treaty, in which the king had all he laid claim to, without making any concessions on his side, could not be otherwise than very glorious to him.

Not long after, M. d'Offat prevailed upon the grand duke to give back the isle and castle of *If*, the isle of *Pommegue* (two islands of *Provence*) which he had got into his possession during the civil wars, insomuch that the king was become master of all his kingdom, and had nothing more to do, than to provide a remedy for the disorders which had been caused by such long wars.

The peace being secured between the two crowns, 'twas followed by several marriages of the princes and princesses. Amongst the rest, madam *Catherine of Bourbon*, the king's sister, was married to the duke of *Barr*, and the archduke *Albert* to the infanta *Clara Eugenia*, daughter of *Philip* the second, who died this year 1598, in the month of *September*; and the sister of *Philip* the third then reigning, who confirmed the cession of his right to the *Low-Countries*, which his father had designed for the princess.

The cardinal of *Florence*, the pope's legate, set out about the end of *August* upon his return to *Rome*, loaden with the blessings of the people of *France* for the peace of *Vervins*, and the honours which the king conferred upon him.

The

The departure of the legate was followed some months after with that of the president *de Sillery*, who, upon the return of the duke of *Luxembourg*, was sent ambassador to *Rome* to negotiate two important affairs in concert with *M. d'Offat*, who, on the third of *March*, was advanced to the dignity of a cardinal. A. D. 1598.

The two affairs the president *de Sillery* was charged with, were the business of the marquissate of *Saluces*, which was submitted to the arbitration of the pope, and the dissolution of the marriage between the king and queen *Margarer*, sister to the late king *Henry* the third. A. D. 1599

As the two parties consented to the dissolution of the marriage, there was no farther difficulty than to prove that the queen was forced to it by the violence of her brother king *Charles* the ninth, and to shew the solidity of the other reasons, upon which the request was granted. The pope observed all requisite forms; there were a great number of witnesses, and very proper ones too, who attested the violence, and the affair was concluded to the king's satisfaction.

As to the article of the marquissate of *Saluces*, it was not so easily decided. There was a compromise between the king and the duke, to refer themselves to the pope's arbitration, and the term of the execution fell upon the month of *May*. It was with great difficulty the duke exposed himself to the danger of being dispossessed. He form'd delays as long as he could, but not being able to put off the business any longer, he said, he would go treat with the king himself, and throw his personal interest into his majesty's hands. This promise of a journey was looked on as a pretence to gain longer time: However, he undertook it at last, though it was not 'till some months after.

In the mean time there happened a great many changes at court. The chancellor *de Chiverni* died, and was succeeded by a person of merit, *Pomponius de Bellievre*, who filled his place to advantage. *Henry* duke of *Joyeuse*, and mareschal of *France*, inspired by God, returned to a convent of capuchins, which he had been obliged to leave, in order to put himself at the head of the league in *Languedoc*.

A. D. 1599. *Gabrielle d'Estrees*, marchioness of *Monceaux*, and dutchess of *Beaufort*, was taken out of the world in such a manner as gave room to several discourses and reflections, and made her salvation much doubted of. The king was extremely affected with it; but his majesty being encompassed by a set of people, who knew his weakness, they used all sorts of artifice to engage him in other amours, and hoping to have a share in his favour and confidence by means of a new mistress, they caused him to fall into the snare. He suffered himself to be charmed by mademoiselle d'*Entragues*, and proceeded so far as to promise her marriage under his hand, which afterwards created him very great difficulties.

Memoires de  
Sully, T. 1.  
c. 52.

In the mean while, what they never could have believed came to pass, and the duke of *Savoy*, by the king's leave, came to court about the end of the year 1599. He was received, where-ever he came, with very great honours, as also by the king at *Fontainebleau*, where he then resided. He gained a considerable esteem by his behaviour, magnificence, liberality, and wit; but he was very much surprized, and perplexed, that the king should move nothing to him upon the subject of his journey; at last he was obliged to make the first overture himself; and his majesty's answer sufficiently let him know, that he still designed to get the marquissate of *Saluces* out of his hands. He obtained, however, that commissioners should be named on both sides to confer upon the difference between them.

There were several propositions in these conferences, upon which they could not agree, and the duke observing, that matters took a very different turn from what he expected, consented, or at least seemed to consent, that the king should be put into possession of the marquissate of *Saluces*, but upon certain conditions, which the king would not agree to; so that he was obliged to draw up others. At last the king proposed to the patriarch of *Constantinople*, who was at that time nuncio in *France*, either, That the duke should agree to this treaty, reformed in the manner he had specified; or, to another he had proposed to him, which was to this effect, That the duke should retain the sovereignty of the marquissate of *Saluces*, and should



should give in exchange the whole country of *Bresse*, *A. D.*  
*Barcelonette*, and its vicarship, as far as *Argentiere*, 1599.  
the *Vale of Sture*, and *Perouse*, with its dependen-  
cies, and the town and castle of *Pignerol*, with the  
territory annexed to it ; that all the towns, castles, and  
lands, which had been seized on both sides, should be  
restored when the exchange was made, and that the  
duke should cause to be demolished the fort of *Beche-*  
*Dauphiny* ; upon which the king farther promised, to *A.D. 1600*  
use his interest in putting an end to the difference the  
duke had with the canton of *Bearn*, and *Geneva*, in  
a reasonable manner. This scheme was set down in  
writing, and after the duke and his council had consi-  
der'd of it, the articles were signed on the twenty-  
seventh of *February*, and it was said, that the duke  
should make his choice on the first of *June*, of the pre-  
sent year one thousand six hundred.

As soon as this writing was signed, the duke re-  
turned into his dominions, very little satisfied with  
the success of his journey ; but he was no sooner got  
home, than he plainly shewed, by his repeated delays,  
that he had signed the treaty without any view of  
putting it in execution ; insomuch, that the king be-  
ing convinced, that he was no longer to rely upon his  
word, declared war against him, advanced toward  
that frontier, ordered the mareschal *de Biron* to march  
into *Bresse*, who conquered it intirely, except the ci-  
tadel of *Bourg*, which he blocked up. *Lestignieres*  
entered *Savoy*, where he found very little resistance ;  
took the town of *Montmelian*, and after that the  
castle, and lastly, the pope having sent cardinal *Aldo-*  
*brandin* to the king, with the character of legate, a  
peace was made.

The substance of the treaty was the cession of *Bresse*  
to the king, comprehending *Bugey* and *le Val-Romey*  
in exchange for the marquissate of *Saluces*, which was  
left to the duke of *Savoy*. This treaty was signed at  
*Lyons* on the seventeenth of *January*, in the year 1601,  
and thus *France* was intirely freed from war. I shall  
now touch upon such other matters, as passed in the  
year 1600, of which the principal was the king's mar-  
riage, which was so mightily desired by his subjects.

The death of the dutchess of *Beaufort*, whom he  
designed to marry, having prevented the execution of

A. D. 1600. that project, and his inclinations towards mademoiselle *d'Entragues* having blown over, he cast his eyes upon *Mary of Medicis*, daughter to *Francis* grand duke of *Tuscany*, and niece to *Ferdinand* who then reign'd. An alliance so advantageous and honourable to the house of *Medicis*, was accepted by the grand duke with a great deal of zeal. The marriage was solemnized at *Lyons*, in the month of *December*, and the ceremony performed by cardinal *Aldobrandin* the pope's legate. The king and queen did not come to *Paris*, till towards the end of winter. The *Parisians* prepared for their reception with great magnificence; but the king sent them orders to defer the ceremony, which was not thought of till long after.

A.D. 1601

Norwithstanding the advantages the king had procured for the calvinists by the edicts of *Nants*, they were still very untractable; they were very exact upon the observation of the edict in the points which favoured them, but made no scruple to break through it in such points as were favourable to the catholicks. They even continued their assemblies at *Saumur* against the king's inclination, who had ordered them to separate, and contrary to the new orders they had receiv'd thereupon, they made three remonstrances to the king; but as his majesty was no longer engaged in war, his commands were the more effectual, and they found themselves under a necessity to obey, and break up the assembly.

Some time after the king gave them leave to have another at *S. Foy* in *Guyenne*, where they chose for their residents at court (for his majesty allowed them to have two) the sieurs *de S. Germain*, and *Desbordes*; but they still made regulations there, by which his majesty perceived he was under a necessity to watch narrowly over the steps of this turbulent party, which had the dukes of *Bouillon*, and *La Trimouille*, for its chiefs, though they durst not yet venture to take upon them the title. The king was not ignorant of it, but he chose to dissemble his knowledge, as well in regard to them, as upon account of several great lords, both hugonots and catholicks, whom he hop'd, by means of the peace, to reduce, by little and little, to the submission they owed their sovereign; as the need he formerly had of them; and the licence of the civil wars

wars had possessed them with a certain spirit of haughtiness, and independance, which they could not easily shake off. A. D.  
1601.

The king was farther acquainted with the crafty disposition of the duke of *Savoy*, and informed of certain intrigues he fomented in the kingdom, which were not yet sufficiently unravelled. Besides, it had been discovered, that certain intelligences were practiced by the count *de Fuentes*, to surprize *Marseilles*, and by the archduke *Albert*, to make himself master of *Metz*; and lastly, there were certain insults offered to the *French* ambassador in *Spain*, which the king could not in honour dispence with, without demanding satisfaction. All which hindered him from looking upon the peace as perfectly firm, and obliged his majesty to use the caution I have mentioned with reference to certain lords, whom their employments, and authority had made powerful in the kingdom.

The king laboured under these uneasinesses, in the midst of his joy for the birth of a dauphin, who was brought into the world on the twenty-seventh of *September*, of the present year 1601, at *Fountainbleau*; but the more he searched into the several intrigues, which were carrying on both within and without the kingdom, the more he saw himself threatned with a civil war, which would not have failed to draw along with it a war from abroad.

Amongst all these disaffected lords, the mareschal *de Biron*, whom he should have least distrusted, had proceeded the farthest. Never was ambition more blind, more extravagant, and chimerical, than in this nobleman. He had already acquir'd all the glory that a man of his condition could aspire to; was made mareschal of *France*, duke and peer, knight of the order, and was possess of the government of *Burgundy*, one of the best and most important in the whole kingdom; but not content with this elevation, his insatiable vanity pushed him on to a project of making himself sovereign of a part of *France*.

After the peace of *Vervins*, the mareschal was sent to *Bruxelles* by the king, to be present at the arch-duke's oath for the observation of the treaty, but did <sup>Cayet, under</sup> not leave the town with the same regard of fidelity <sup>the year</sup> 1602. to his prince as hitherto he had seemingly shewn. He



*A. D.* 1601. found there one *Picote*, a *Frenchman*, who had fled for shelter to the court of *Bruxelles*, and was a man of capacity and intrigue. He communicated to him his pretended dissatisfaction with the king's conduct, and besought him to come privately into *France*, to talk with him of these matters more at large. *Picote* gave an account of this discourse to the ministers of the archduke, who persuaded him to keep up the correspondence.

Cardinal  
d'Ossat's let-  
ter, No.  
324.

Guichenon's  
hist. of the  
house of Sa-  
voy.

The duke of *Savoy's* journey to the court of *France*, finally engaged the mareschal in his destruction. In some discourses he held with the duke, he took care to exasperate him as much as possible; he told him there was a party formed in the state, of which the count of *Auvergne*, the connestable, and himself were at the head; that they should be supported underhand by a prince of the blood, the count of *Soissons*, and that they were resolved to place him upon the throne instead of the king.

The duke then made him a tender of all his power, promised him to engage the king of *Spain* in his party, and under pretence of giving an account to his majesty of what passed concerning the negociation for the marquissate of *Saluces*, he actually sent *Belly* his chancellor into *Spain*, to inform him of what had been negotiated with *Biron*.

There is no cause to doubt but the house of *Austria* was concerned in this affair, as one of the artifices that was used to prevail on *Biron*, was the hopes they gave him that he should either marry *Mary* of *Austria*, the emperor's cousin, or the duke of *Savoy's* third daughter, or his natural sister.

D'Aubigne  
T. 3. l. 5. c. 6.

To carry on all these intrigues with secrecy, he cast his eyes upon *la Fin*, a man of quality and understanding, disaffected to the court, and at the same time one of the most notable managers in all *France*, and to him he joined the baron *de Lux*: These two lords, *Picote*, and *Renaze*, *la Fin's* secretary, were all four in the secret.

The scheme was to erect the great governments of *France* into so many principalities, of which the possessor should have no more dependance upon the king of *France*, than the princes of the empire have upon the emperor. By this means he hoped to draw  
the

the great lords into his party, and especially the governors of *Provence*. *Biron*, for his part, was to be sovereign in his government of *Burgundy*, of which the limits were to be much enlarged, to form this new estate; and the king of *Spain* was to transfer upon the princess, whom the mareschal should marry, all his right or pretensions to *Burgundy*.

A. D.

1601.

These were the principal articles which were agreed to at *Somo* in *Italy* upon the *Po*, where *la Fin* was agent *incognito* with the count *de Fuentes* governor of the *Milaneze*, the ambassador of *Spain*, and *Picote*; but the peace which the duke of *Savoy* was obliged to conclude with the king, by the authority of the legate, suspended the execution of the treaty of *Somo*, and raised several reflections in the mareschal *de Biron*, who was very apprehensive that an affair of this nature, when drawn out into length, should come to the king's knowledge.

Indeed the king, who was already suspicious of the mareschal, kept a watchful eye over his behaviour, and knowing that *la Fin* was his great confident, he did all he could to gain him over, which at last he compassed, by means of the vidame of *Chartres*, this gentleman's nephew. He assured him from the king, of an intire forgiveness for all that was past, provided he would declare all the secrets they were desirous of knowing.

*La Fin*, who as well as the mareschal, was apprehensive that time would discover their whole intrigue, had used a precaution to secure himself at the mareschal's expence, upon supposition that all other means should fail him. He told him one day, that in his opinion it was very dangerous to keep the original of the treaty of *Somo*; that if by mischance he should be laid under an arrest, upon the suspicions he knew the court had of him, and this writing should be found upon him, he would be lost without remedy; that it would be sufficient to keep a copy, and burn the original.

The mareschal was laid upon his bed, when this proposition was made to him, and judged it prudent and adviseable, and gave him the original into his hands to burn it. *La Fin* rumpled it as with design to put it into the fire; but artfully burnt another piece of

A. D.  
1601.

paper in its stead, and reserved the original for himself. This perfidiousness was the principal cause of the mareschal's ruin. In the mean time, the duke of Savoy caused *Renaze*, *la Fin*'s secretary, to be taken up on suspicion, and sent him prisoner to *Quiers*.

A. D. 1602  
Memoires de  
Sully, T. 2.  
c. 7.

The detention of *Renaze* was another motive for the *sieur de la Fin* to hasten his treachery. He was sent for to court, and advis'd with the mareschal upon his journey, laying before him the dangers he was about to expose himself to, for his service. It was concluded, that he should go, and *Biron* prescribed him all the precautions he was to take. *La Fin* arriving at *Fontainebleau* the following *March*, gave the king a particular account of the whole conspiracy, and at the same time sent word to the mareschal, that he had not let fall one word, which could do him any disservice.

The king soon after set forward for *Poitou*, upon the account of an insurrection that was made there, and in which he was informed that *Biron*, the count of *Auvergne*, and the duke of *Bouillon* had been concern'd. He wrote a letter to *Biron*, by which he gave him orders to come to court; but he represented to the king, that his presence was necessary in his government of *Burgundy*, for the service of his majesty. The king repeated the order by the *sieur des Escures*, and afterward by the president *Jannin*, in such manner, that he found himself under a necessity, either to obey, or resolve to leave the kingdom; and this last advice had been proposed to him by some of his friends; but he rejected the proposition, and, relying upon the letter *la Fin* had wrote to him, he set forward upon his journey.

Memoires de  
Sully, T. 2.  
c. 10.

He came to *Fontainebleau* on *Wednesday* the thirteenth of *June*. *La Fin* came to salute him as he alighted from his horse, and still perfectly well supporting the character of a traytor, whispers him in the ear, *Courage, Sir, set a good face on it, they know nothing at all.*

The king, as soon as he appeared in his chamber, took him in his arms, and said to him, smiling, *You have done well to come, for otherwise I was going to seek you.* He led him into the garden, and after some indifferent discourse, spoke to him of the dissatisfaction

he



he had in his conduct, and added, that provided he would confess to him the truth, it should cost him nothing but the repentance of his faults.

A. D.  
1602.

*Biron*, still the same, notwithstanding the danger he was in, answered with a haughty air, that he was not come to justify himself; but to know his accusers, and that he had no need of pardon, since he had committed no fault. The king, who, in reality, had no mind to destroy him, spoke to him again after the same manner, both that day and the next, and not being able to get from him any other answer, he resolved at last, to have him under arrest, and accordingly he was taken up in the evening, by *M. de Vitri*. He was carried into a chamber, where he was well guarded all the night. The count of *Auvergne* was also taken into custody by *M. de Pralin* at the gate of the castle, and was led into another apartment. The next day the prisoners were conducted under a strong guard to the *Bastile*, whither they came on the fifteenth of *June*, and the baron *de Rosni*, who had set out before them, lodged them in separate chambers.

The king came to *Paris* the same day, and on the eighteenth of *June*, sent a commission to the parliament, to proceed against the mareschal *de Biron*. They put him to the question, and observed all the other requisite procedure, and on *Monday* the twenty-ninth of *July*, the parliament being assembled, with the chancellor at their head, this magistrate took the advice of the judges, and pronounced the decree; which condemned the mareschal to have his head cut off in the place of the *Greve*. But his relations obtained leave of the king, that the execution should be perform'd in the *Bastile*, which was accordingly done the next day.

The mareschal's behaviour in this sad conjuncture, was not much to his honour. He appeared before the assembly, rather with an air of haughtiness, than resolution. He discovered some little marks of madness, and let fall certain extravagant expressions; and one might have discerned, upon this occasion, the difference there is in the most intrepid, between seeing, as I may say, their death approach them from a-far, and facing it in an assault or a battle; had not the mareschal

A. D.  
1602.

Thus died *Charles de Gontaut de Biron*, mareschal of *France*, who was driven head-long into this abyss of destruction, by his unparallel'd haughtiness, presumption and vanity. His valour, by which he stood most distinguished, was not the only deserving part of his character. He had a great capacity, and was well formed for business. Neither was he an ignorant man, like most part of the nobility of that time; but had cultivated his mind by reading, to so great a degree, that he understood *Greek*. He was very sober, and in no respect given to debauchery; but placed his whole delight in war: He did not appear to have much religion, and sometimes would equally rail at the mass and the sermon.

His misfortune made a great deal of noise in the world, as he was reputed one of the greatest officers of his time. This instance of severity, which the king did not resolve on, without a great deal of difficulty, was necessary for the security and quiet of the state. His majesty, however, proceeded no farther; but pardoned the count of *Auvergne*, who came off with two months imprisonment, after having told all that he knew. He designed the same favour to the duke of *Bouillon*; but the duke, not venturing to trust him, retired first to *Geneva*, and then to *Heidelberg*.

The ambassadors of foreign powers, came all in their masters name, to congratulate the king upon the discovery of this conspiracy, without so much as excepting the duke of *Savoy*: But the king took care to make a distinction betwixt him and the rest, by his different manner of receiving their compliments. The courtiers, who knew his sentiments of the duke of *Savoy*, made their court, by shewing a disregard to his ambassador, and not one of them took the least notice of him in the king's chamber.

These embassies were followed by another, which was received with great pomp and splendor. This was an embassy from *Switzerland*, to renew the alliance of the *Swiss* cantons with the crown of *France*. The ceremony was performed with all possible magnificence and expence. They were conducted back to their frontiers at the king's charge, and received the same honours, which had been paid them in their way to *Paris*.

Paris. Nor could they sufficiently extol the king's goodness and obliging behaviour toward them.

A. D.  
1602.

Not long after, his majesty took a journey into *Lorraine*, under pretext of visiting his sister the dutchess of *Bar* at *Nancy*; but his principal motive was not only to provide a remedy for the disturbances which had long been acted in the town of *Metz*, from the disagreement of the commander general of the town and citadel, with the towns-men; but withal to appoint a new officer by his own authority, and all succeeded as his majesty would have wished. The commanding officer, who had been placed there by the duke of *Espernon*, who was governor of the place, resigned his post into the king's hands, which put an end to all the differences. His majesty appointed *M. de Montigni* to command in the town, and *d'Arcy* his brother in the citadel. The sole title of governor and its appendages remain'd to the duke of *Espernon*, who seem'd to be very well pleased. 'Twas a sort of conquest to his majesty, to have taken away all authority in this place from this nobleman, whom he neither lov'd nor rely'd on.

Whilst he was at *Metz*, his majesty was visited by several of the *German* princes, and congratulated by the rest, by their envoys. The envoy of the elector *Palatine*, presented him with a letter from his prince, which was full of civility and regard; among other things he protested, that when the duke of *Bouillon* came to *Heidelberg*, he knew nothing of his disgrace, and that he had believ'd the only cause of his journey, was a meer visit to his sister-in-law the electress; that he had since been informed he was escaped out of *France*, upon the apprehension of being taken into custody for certain crimes he stood accus'd of; that if these were true, he would neither protect nor intercede for him with his majesty; but that he knew him to be a person of merit and zeal for the state, and so firmly attach'd to his prince, as removed from him all suspicion of his want of fidelity.

A. D. 1603

The king answered the elector in the same civil manner, and upon the article of the duke of *Bouillon*, he let him know, that in regard to him, he would forget the fault the duke had committed, in not attending upon him as he had ordered, and in leaving the kingdom without



*A. D.* without his permission, provided that in two months  
 1603. time he would return to court, to resolve him in certain  
 points he desired to be informed of. These letters  
 were without effect, and the duke did not return into  
*France*, till several years after. The king pursued his  
 journey as far as *Nancy*, where he saw madam, his  
 sister, and returned to *Paris* about the end of *April*.

Whilst he was upon the road, he learn'd the death  
 of *Elizabeth* queen of *England*. The king, who had  
 received more assistance than unkindness from her,  
 both loved and esteemed her; but he was the more  
 concerned at her loss; as by this means the measures  
 he had taken to crush the power of *Spain*, were wholly  
 broken, and he could not so thoroughly rely in this  
 respect upon the prince he foresaw would succeed  
 her.

Memoires de  
 Sully, T. 2.  
 c. 14.

This successor was *James* the sixth king of *Scotland*,  
 son to the late queen *Mary Stewart*, and first of this  
 name in *England*. He succeeded, in consequence of a  
 writing which had been delivered by *Elizabeth* under  
 seal, into the hands of my lord *Robert Cecil*, with  
 strict prohibition not to open it till after her death,  
 and by which she left the crown to this prince. It was  
 a matter that would admit of no manner of difficulty,  
 and therefore upon information of her majesty's death,  
 the prince set forward from *Scotland*, and came to  
*London* in the month of *May*, where he was crowned,  
 to the general satisfaction of all the kingdom.

Though *Christopher de Harlay* count *de Baumont*,  
 ambassador of *France* in *England*, had already com-  
 plimented his majesty upon his accession to the crown of  
*England*, by order of the court, the king, however,  
 under colour of paying him this honour with the  
 greater ceremony, resolved to send over an ambassador  
 extraordinary. His design was, by this means, to dis-  
 cover his intentions, and according to the disposition  
 he should find him in, to renew with him the treaties  
 made with the late queen, and to break the alliances  
 he was reported to have made with *Spain*, whilst he  
 was only king of *Scotland*.

The king employed in this embassy the baron *de*  
*Rosni*, whom, in his instructions, he stiles marquis,  
 which is the first time I have been able to observe  
 that this lord took upon him the title. *England* was  
 then

A. D.  
1603.

then in a manner, the general rendezvous of the ministers of all the princes of *Europe*, not only to compliment the new king; but also, for the most part, to treat with him of proper expedients for opposing the excessive power of the *Spaniards*. The marquis de *Rosni* had conferences with them all, and proposed to them the project of a general league against the house of *Austria*. They all mightily approved of the design, but form'd their several difficulties, and unanimously agreed, that if the kings of *France* and *England* would but begin, their masters would not be long behind hand to join with them.

But it was principally the king of *England*, to whom *Rosni* explained his project at large, in a conference he had with him alone for four hours together. His majesty was charmed with it; but as in the beginning of his reign he could not openly declare war against so powerful an enemy, *Rosni* only obtained these two things of him, which the king had principally proposed in this negotiation; first, that the ancient treaties with *Scotland*, and of the king with the late queen *Elizabeth*, should be renewed, and the two kings should assist the *Dutch* with all their might, to prevent their being overcome by the powers of *Spain*; to which it was added, that if the king of *Spain* was offended with this succour, and should fall upon one of the two kings, the other should declare war upon him, and then it was agreed in what manner this offensive and defensive league should, in such a case, be put in execution. The envoy of *Holland*, who then resided in *England*, and had hitherto been coldly received, and almost despaired of obtaining from king *James* the assistance they desired, made all possible acknowledgements to M. de *Rosni* for the treaty he had made, which was so much to their advantage.

During this negotiation in *England*, there passed another at *Rome*, upon a point of much less importance; but which the pope had very much at heart. This was the restoration of the jesuits in *France*. The affair was drawn out into length; but not through any opposition made to it by the king; for his majesty, on the other hand, had expressed his inclination upon several occasions, that they should be restored; but had forbore to do it, in regard to the parliament  
of

*A. D.* of *Paris*, whom he could hardly prevail upon to consent to it, upon account of the decree they had made against the jesuits. However, he resolved upon it, at the pressing instances of the pope and cardinal *d'Ossat*; and the matter was concluded about the end of the year 1603, and executed by an edict which was registered.

The jesuits were obliged for this to *M. de la Varenne*, who pursued their restoration, as if it had been his own private business; to the pope, who was constantly pressing cardinal *d'Ossat* upon this affair; to the cardinal, who constantly solicited his majesty in his holiness's name; to the connestable, the chancellor, messieurs *de Villeroy*, *Sillery*, *Chateauneuf*, *Pontcarre*, *Jannin*, *Maïsse*, *Vic*, *Caumartin*, and the principal members of the council, without even excepting the marquis *de Rosni*, as much an hugonot as he was, after he had talk'd with the king upon this subject. We may also add *M. de Lesdiguières*, who wrote to the king such large encomiums of *F. Coton*, whom he had known at *Grenoble*, that his majesty was desirous to see him, and from the first interview he had with him, form'd so great an esteem and affection for him, that he had the goodness to point out to him the several steps he was to take, in order to facilitate the restoration of his order.

*A. D. 1604* The pope was over-joyed to see this affair brought to a conclusion, and the news he received of it, contributed very much to the dispensation, which for three or four years last past, had been solicited for madam *Catherine* with the duke of *Bar*, in which case, notwithstanding the refusal, they had proceeded so far as to consummate the marriage. But all this pains was fruitless, for the princess died before the dispensation was brought to *Lorraine*.

The cardinal *d'Ossat* followed not long after. For he died upon the thirteenth of *March*, and the king sustained a very considerable loss in the death of so able, so zealous, and so faithful a minister.

The king's authority increased more and more every day; but there still remained certain turbulent and unquiet minds, who made it their whole business to disturb the tranquillity of the state. The duke of *Bouillon*, who had taken shelter in the court of the elector

*Palatine*,



*Palatine*, had his favourers in the kingdom, and very much authority and credit among the hugonots, who were a formidable party, and very much disposed to a revolt. The duke *de la Trimouille*, a very powerful nobleman in *Poitou*, the sieur *Dupleffis-Mornay*, and several others, supported them in their suspicions of the king. The *Spaniards* were industriously watchful, and underhand promoted this spirit of rebellion.

A. D.  
1604.

They had formed strict alliances with the count of *Auvergne*, and even with the marchioness of *Verneuil* the king's mistress, with *d'Entragues* her brother, and with her father and mother, and had corrupted, with bribes, one *Nicholas l'Hote*, a domestick of M. *Villeroy's*, the secretary of state, who relied very much upon him, and usually made him transcribe the most important dispatches, after they had been decypher'd. This chanc'd to be discovered, and the poor wretch, in attempting his escape, was drowned in the river *Marne*.

The intrigues of the marchioness *de Verneuil*, the sieur *d'Entragues* her father, and the count of *Auvergne* came also to the king's knowledge. He caused them all to be taken into custody, and the first thing his majesty did, was to oblige the sieur *d'Entragues* to give back the promise of marriage his majesty had made his daughter, which the *Spaniards* gave out they would one day make use of against the king's lawful issue. They then proceeded to the trials of the count of *Auvergne*, the marchioness and her father. *Charles of Valois* count of *Auvergne*, *Francis de Balzac d'Entragues*, and *Thomas Morgan* an *English* Roman-catholick gentleman, who had a share in this conspiracy, were condemned to be beheaded in the place of the *Greve*, and *Henrietta de Balzac d'Entragues*, marchioness of *Verneuil*, to be confined in the abbey of *Beaumont les Tours*, in expectation of more ample information with reference to her.

The king changed the punishment of the count of *Auvergne* and the sieurs *d'Entragues* into a perpetual imprisonment, restored to them their forfeited estates, and only deprived them of their governments. Some time after, he gave leave to M. *d'Entragues* to reside upon his estate of *Malherbe* in *Beauvaisse*; but for the count of *Auvergne*, he was kept in the *Bastile* till after

*A. D.* 1604. after the king's death. The place of the marchioness's retirement was also changed, and she had leave to reside at *Verneuil*, and to deliver her from the uneasiness of the more ample informations, the king, by other letters, gave her an absolute discharge, which made several believe, that his majesty still retained some remains of affection for this lady, which in reality was true.

There was another conspiracy discovered, which had been contrived by the duke of *Bouillon* in concert with *Spain*, to make an insurrection in *Limosin*, *Perigord*, *Quercy*, and *Guyenne*; the particulars of which his majesty learn'd from queen *Margaret*, who came to *Paris* and gave up herself to a life of devotion, in which she continued till the day of her death. The king made haste to take the field, to put a stop to the rebellion, and succeeded in his design. He seized upon several places belonging to the duke of *Bouillon*, and particularly upon *Turenne*. He then established in those quarters, what is called a chamber *des grands Jours*, of which *John Jacques de Mesme*, sieur de *Roissy*, master of the requests, was the chief. Nine or ten gentlemen of the most guilty lost their heads upon this occasion, and the rest returned to their duty.

A revolt prudently suppress'd, and severely punished, in some respects, serves only to strengthen the authority of the prince. His majesty's behaviour upon this occasion, let the faction understand, that they must not expect to raise disturbances for the future, without being called to a more severe account than they had hitherto been. He gave another example of the like justice in the person of *Lewis d'Alagon*, baron de *Mairargues*, one of the most considerable lords in *Provence*. He was convicted of having treated with the *Spaniards* for the delivery of *Marseilles* into their hands, and having been taken up at *Paris*, and found guilty of this treason, he was beheaded and quartered.

This deprived the duke of *Bouillon* of all hopes of raising any new disturbances in the kingdom, and he bethought himself of other expedients to make his peace with the king. He employed in vain, the intercession of several foreign princes, and the friends which he had at court. The king kept his resolution,  
and

and declared expressly, That before he came to any agreement, *Sedan* must be delivered up to him, and such a garrison should be put in it, as should be judged convenient. He yielded to this with great difficulty; but at last being assured under hand, that as soon as the king should see his intire submission, he would pardon him for all that was past, and being farther informed that the king was preparing to attack the place, with an army of twenty-five thousand men, and a vast quantity of artillery, he consented to the proposition, and came to the king: He threw himself at his majesty's feet in presence of the queen. The king granted him his pardon, and an intire abolition of all past offences, and the act was registred. His majesty made his entry into *Sedan*, put a governor and garrison into the castle for four years, as had been agreed in one of the articles of the treaty. But the king, who was naturally inclined to clemency, restored this place to him a month after, and was content with seeing not only the common people, but also the great men, inured to respect royal authority.

A. D.  
1605.

A.D. 1606

The king not only gained by little and little, the superiority in his kingdom; but also the reputation of his valour, prudence and integrity, made him very considerable in foreign countries.

*Clement* the eighth dying in the year 1603, was succeeded by *Alexander de Medicis*, commonly called the cardinal of *Florence*, who took the name of *Leo* the eleventh, and died the twenty-fifth day after his advancement. Cardinal *Camillo Borghese* succeeded him by the name of *Paul* the fifth. Tho' the *Spanish* faction was then very powerful at *Rome*, yet *France* carried it in these two last conclaves; and these two popes were elected by means of the cardinal de *Joyeuse*, who was perfectly well skill'd in the management of that court.

A great difference having arose between *Paul* the fifth and the republick of *Venice*, insomuch that both sides prepared for war; the king made himself master of the affair, and whatever artifices the ministers of *Spain* employed to gain a part in the negotiation, that the king their master might have some share in the glory of the accommodation, the said cardinal de *Joyeuse* and M. d'Alincour, ambassador at *Rome*,



*A. D.* 1606. *Rome*, managed the business so well, that the king alone had all the honour of it; and the pope, the *Venetians*, and the other princes of *Italy*, who were apprehensive of a war within their own bowels, made great acknowledgements to his majesty for having interposed in the affair.

*A. D.* 1607 This difference between the court of *Rome* and the republick of *Venice*, was scarce ended in 1607, before the states of *Holland* and the arch-dukes, such was the language of that time, that is the arch-duke *Albert* and the arch-dutchess his wife, accepted of his mediation, to put an end to a war which was destructive to them both; and thus they were indebted to the king for the long truce which followed. The president *Jannin*, who was employed in this negotiation, gave great instances of his prudent address, and ability to furnish expedients for the removing a thousand difficulties, which arose every day, sometimes on the part of the king of *Spain* and the arch-duke, and sometimes on the side of the *Dutch*, so far as to draw the *Spaniards* into concessions, which it was thought they would never have granted, and were the finishing stroke of this great negotiation; and this was, that the arch-duke, with the consent of the king of *Spain*, should own the states to be a free, independent people, over whom they should not pretend to exercise any dominion. This was the essential article, and the foundation of the truce for twelve years between the arch-duke and the *Dutch*, and was called, for this reason, the great or the long truce. And this gave an opportunity and leisure to the republick of *Holland* to make a firm settlement, and fix themselves upon the foot they are at present. This important negotiation, which lasted two years, was finished in

*A. D.* 1609 the year 1609. The states expressed their gratitude to the king, in a letter of the twenty-second of *June* this present year, in which they address themselves to him in these terms; "That next after God, we hold  
 " the preservation of this estate, at the hands of your  
 " majesty, and both we and our posterity shall be  
 " ever obliged to acknowledge it with all sort of gra-  
 " titude and humble service."

Experience has shewn, that their posterity have not always observed the promise they made to his majesty  
 in

In this letter, with reference to our kings ; but interests of state, which are the rules of princes actions, change in the course of time, and vary according to circumstances. A. D.  
1609.

An incident had like to have hindered the signing of this treaty, and if matters had not been far advanced, must at least have retarded it. This was the death of *John William* duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who left behind him no children, and whose succession was about to be disputed by the marquis of *Brandebourg*, the duke of *Newburgh*, the duke of *Deux-Ponts*, and the marquis *de Burgau* son to the archduke *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, who founded their claims upon their respective intermarriages with the family of the late duke.

What the king principally apprehended, was the great probability there was, that during the disputes of the pretending parties, the emperor should seize upon the dutchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers* with the troops of the arch-duke *Albert*, under pretext of holding them in sequestration, in the name of his imperial majesty, as these estates were held solely of the empire. This his majesty was absolutely resolved never to admit of, as he plainly foresaw, that if the emperor was once possessed of them, a part of those dominions would at least continue in the house of *Austria*. This he declared to the arch-duke *Albert*, and explained to the states of *Holland*, how nearly their private interest was concerned in the consequences of this disposition, as well as the interests of the crown of *France* ; and 'twas agreed by the king and the states, that they should seriously consider of proper measures to prevent it.

After the submission of the duke of *Bouillon*, there was nothing very considerable which fell out in *France*. About the time they began to talk of the peace between the arch-duke and the states, the king had a second son, who died at the age of four years. He had another the next year, who was named *Gaston*, and after his brother's death, called duke of *Orleans*. *Henry* of *Bourbon*, duke of *Montpensier*, a prince of great endowments, departed this life ; and not long after him, died the chancellor *Pomponius de Bellievre*, and was succeeded by *Nicholas Brulart sieur de Sillery*, who had the seals already.

A. D. 1609. The death of *Ferdinand de Medicis*, grand duke of *Tuscany*, and uncle to the queen, made the court put on mourning the beginning of the next year; but they laid it aside for the solemnizing the marriage of the two princes. The first was between the duke of *Vendome*, the king's natural son, and *Frances* of *Lorraine*, the only daughter and heir of the duke of *Merccœur*. 'Twas one of the articles of the treaty the duke had made with the king, when he returned to his obedience, and surrendred the government of *Brittany* into his hands. The other was the marriage of *Henry* the prince of *Conde*, first prince of the blood, with *Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorenci*, daughter to the conestable, and a lady of extraordinary beauty; but whose charms some months after her marriage, caused a great disturbance at court.

The king, who was naturally very amorous, had formerly some small passion for her, which his marriage did not extinguish. The prince of *Conde* was extreemly displeased, and carried her one day into the *Low-Countries*, when it was least expected. The *Spaniards* gave them a treat at *Bruxelles*, and were over-joyed to have the first prince of the blood dissatisfied, in their hands. The king was highly provoked against the arch-duke, and several negotiations passed upon this affair. The prince of *Conde*, not thinking himself secure enough at *Bruxelles*, privately left the town about the end of *February*, and passed through *Germany* to *Milan*.

In the mean while, the king made great preparations for the raising a vast army in *France*, and though he was not displeased that the obstinacy of the *Spaniards* in detaining the prince and princess of *Conde*, should be thought the cause of these preparations, yet this was not the real motive; for though the secret was never hitherto perfectly discovered, yet they seem to have been most in the right, who have thought that this was to begin the execution of the general league of all the sovereign powers against the house of *Austria*, which the marquis *de Rosni*, whom they now called the duke of *Sulli*, had proposed to the king of *England*, during his embassy in that country. The army was very numerous, with an artillery in proportion: A vast sum of money was heaped together upon the occasion,



occasion, and what makes this opinion highly probable, the king was then actually forming negotiations in almost all the courts of *Europe*. A. D.  
1610.

The king had nominated the queen to be regent of the kingdom during his absence, and intended, before his departure, to have the ceremony of her majesty's coronation performed, which had hitherto been delayed for several reasons; but his sudden death interrupted all his great designs, and the fury of the detestable *Ravaillac* put an end to his days and glorious reign, by stabbing him in the neighbourhood of *S. Innocent's* church-yard.

Though more than a hundred years have passed since the death of this incomparable monarch, they have not been able to erase out of the minds of the *French*, the idea of his royal endowments, which has been transmitted to us by our fathers, with these two qualifications, which are so seldom united, of a great and good prince, and which procured him at the same time the admiration of all *Europe*, and the tender affection of his servants and all his subjects. The title of Great was given him after his death, as it were by a common agreement, even of foreign nations themselves, and the title of Good was far more confirm'd to him by the lamentation of his people, than by all the inscriptions and other monuments which were set up to eternize his memory. His valour and capacity in war, was the most shining of his accomplishments, and gave him, without contradiction, the first place amongst all the princes of his time; but I will venture to affirm, that his other virtues were still more extraordinary, and carried to a higher perfection.

If we take a view of his behaviour, from the massacre of *S. Bartholomew*, to the end of his life, and consider him in all the different circumstances he was in during this interval, what, in my judgment, appears most admirable in him, is his prudence and conduct in the several vicissitudes of good and ill fortune, and the advantage he made of the one, and his courage and constancy under the other, without any marks of abatement or depression, and still providing remedies, where all appearance of assistance seemed to have failed him. He was head of a party, which required the utmost address in applying to the caprice of the great men,

A. D.  
1610.

who served him for the most part, with no other view, than to raise their own fortunes, though at the expence of the state and the royal authority. He knew how to yield with dexterity, without being subject to contempt, to dissemble the frequent occasions they gave him of discontent, to comply with time, and the humours of his generals and ministers, to engage the soldiers by his own example, to the more dangerous enterprizes, when disheartened and despairing, and sometimes prudently to carry his courage even to a degree of rashness, because, being often destitute of money, ammunition and the necessaries of war, that was the only means to encourage them, and keep up among them the reputation of valour, which was absolutely necessary to him.

What a degree of judgment did it require, not to increase the hatred of the catholicks, which had been instilled into them against his person, and at the same time, not to carry his moderation so far, with reference to them, as to become suspected by the calvinists, upon whom he depended? How nice a conduct was necessary after his conversion, to provoke neither the one nor the other? and how great caution was he obliged to take, to suppress the factions which were formed in his dominions in the wars of *Spain*, especially after the loss of *Amiens*, when the hugonots, who refused to assist him in the recovery of that key of the kingdom, took occasion to offer him the most insolent proposition in favour of their party?

All these difficulties, which a genius inferiour to his own, must have sunk under, served only to strengthen his authority; and by extricating himself out of these perplexed circumstances to advantage, he reduced, by little and little, the great men of his kingdom, put them out of a condition to do any mischief during his life, and by a natural consequence, became formidable to all his neighbours, insomuch that he gave law to them, and was in a capacity to have destroyed his most powerful enemies, which, according to all outward appearances, he would have done, if death had not prevented him. All these reflections determine me to conclude, that *Henry the Great*, deserved this illustrious title still more, for his prudence than valour.

It was this prudence which put in action all those excellent endowments he had received from nature ; his disposition was lively, sagacious, fruitful, agreeable and complaisant ; his behaviour was extremely engaging, and there was an openness in his carriage, that gain'd him the hearts of all that were about him. He was generous and good natured, easily inclined to forgive the blackest injuries, and in such a manner, as to persuade those he pardon'd, that the reconciliation was sincere on his side, provided their repentance was so too.

A. D.  
1610.

His conduct after his conversion, shew'd that it was real and undissembled ; the information I have mentioned, which he gave the *Venetians*, of the design of a *Geneva* minister, to introduce calvinism into the republick, is an undeniable proof of it. The advantage the catholick doctors gained over the calvinists, in their disputes and writings, was always a piece of agreeable news to him, and he never expressed greater signs of joy, than when he learn'd the conversion of any hugonot lord. He design'd, upon his conversion, to protect the calvinists within the bounds of the edict ; for having learn'd by experience, their intractability and wicked intentions, which proceeded so far, as to endeavour to form a kind of a republick in the kingdom among themselves, his affection for them abated, and if he had lived, he would undoubtedly have reduced them by little and little, and without violence, and put them out of a condition of creating the trouble they gave his successor. The increase of liberty the christians obtained for the exercise of their religion at *Constantinople*, was owing to his zeal and piety. He procured the settlement of the missionary jesuits there, and prevented the design of the grand seignior, to destroy the holy sepulchre at *Jerusalem*,

Incontinence was too publick a fact in his majesty for us to conceal it. He condemn'd his weakness in this matter himself, and very patiently heard the remonstrances of such people upon this subject, as had any right by their character to put him in mind of it, and even from some of his ministers, and especially the duke of *Sulli*, as being convinced that he did it out of affection to his person,



A. D. 1610. He was also blameable in the business of duels, and his discourse and his injunctions were not always the same upon this subject, and for this reason, they were an occasion of continuing the disorder.

He is farther charged with being somewhat avaricious; but this might arise from the comparison of his conduct with the indiscreet profusion of his predecessors.

'Tis certain, that after the peace of *Vervins*, he heaped together a great deal of money; but it is true also, that he made use of it towards the payment of his debts, which were excessively great. And we learn, by the discourse he frequently held with the duke of *Sully*, superintendent of the finances, that he still proposed another end in his parsimony, which was to put himself into a condition, not only of resisting his enemies, but also of attacking them when he should judge it convenient for the advantage of his kingdom; and he was actually upon the point of doing it, when he was assassinated.

He reformed several abuses which the licence of the civil wars had introduced into all the orders of the kingdom. He was entering upon measures for making trade flourish in *France*, and had charged the president *Jannin*, during his negotiation in *Holland*, to treat with some *Dutchmen*, to give them a settlement in the ports of *France*, and employ them in trading to the *Indies*. He willingly favoured and gave ear to all such as proposed any new invention for the perfection of arts. He had supplied the frontiers with arms and magazines, and knowing the weakness of *France* by sea, was about fortifying the ports, and building of vessels.

He increased the buildings of the *Louvre*, *Fontainebleau*, *S. Germain en Laye*, and some other of the royal houses. He began the communication of the rivers of *Seine* and the *Loire*, by the canal of *Briare*, and undertook several other works for the good of the publick. He appointed two professors of divinity in the ancient college of *Sorbonne*, and founded the university of *Aix* in *Provence*. He had laid the design of an academy for several young gentlemen, in his royal college of *la Fleche*, which he was very fond of, and was desirous to promote learning all over the kingdom, for the benefit of religion.

He

He was very judicious in the choice of his ministers, and the persons he employ'd in affairs of state. Messieurs *de Bellievre, de Sillery, de Villeroy, Jannin, and de Sulli*, he placed most confidence in, and in favour of the last, he erected the employment of grand-master of the artillery, into an office of the crown; and we may justly affirm, there never were greater statesmen in *France*, than those I have named, nor in greater number.

A. D.  
1610.

He erected *Aiguillon* into a duchy and peerage, in favour of *Henry of Lorraine*, son to the duke of *Mayenne*, *Fronsac* for *Francis of Orleans*, count of *S. Paul*, *Ventadour* for *Anne de Levis*, *Biron* for *Charles de Gontaut*, *Tbouars* for *Claude de la Trimouille*, *Roban* for *Henry de Roban*, and *Sulli* for *Maximillian de Bethune*, marquis of *Rosni*.

His majesty was of a moderate stature, but well set; of an agreeable and majestick air, and a lively complexion; his nose was aquiline, his eyes sharp, his forehead large, and his hair brown; but it began to turn gray, when he was thirty three years old, which happened, as he used to say, *Because the wind of his adversities had early begun to blow upon him*. Several expressions of this kind are ascribed to him, and he would even take a pleasure in making use of them, and sometimes prettily enough, but at other times not so happily.

Several monuments were erected to him, even in foreign countries, and his equestrian statue in brass, which stands now in the midst of *Pont-Neuf* at *Paris*, was made by order of the grand dukes *Ferdinand* and *Cosmo de Medicis*.

He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age, in the thirty-eighth of his reign over *Navarre*, and the twenty-first after his accession to the crown of *France*.

He had no children by his first marriage with queen *Margaret*, the sister of *Henry* the third. He had three sons by his second wife *Mary de Medicis*, namely king *Lewis XIII.* his successor, the duke of *Orleans*, who lived but four years, and *Gaston John Baptist*, duke of *Anjou*, afterwards duke of *Orleans*, who lived a long time after him. He had also three daughters by the same marriage; *Elizabeth*, married to the prince of *Spain*, who was afterwards king *Philip* the fourth; *Christina*, dutchess of *Savoy*, by her marriage with  
Victor

A. D. 1610. *Victor Amedeus* prince of *Piedmont*, and *Henrietta* queen of *England*, by her marriage with the prince of *Wales*, who was afterwards *Charles* the first.

He had also several natural children. First, by *Gabrielle d'Estrees*, marchioness of *Monceaux*, and then dutchess of *Beaufort*, he had *Cesar* duke of *Vendome*, *Alexander de Vendome*, grand prior of *France*, and *Catherine Henrietta*, who was married to *Charles* of *Lorraine* duke of *Elbeuf*.

Secondly, by *Henrietta Balsac d'Entragues*, marchioness of *Verneuil*, he had *Henry* of *Bourbon*, who was nominated to the bishoprick of *Metz*, and made abbot of *S. Germain des Prez* and of *Tyron*, and renouncing his benefices, afterwards married, and took the title of duke of *Verneuil*. He had also *Gabrielle*, who was married to *Bernard de Nogaret* duke of *la Valette*.

Thirdly, by *Jacqueline* of *Beuil* countess of *Moret*, he had *Antony* of *Bourbon*, count of *Moret*, who was slain in the next reign at the battle of *Castelnaudari*, as the historians of that time relate; but they are contradicted by another, who wrote some years since, and tells us, that this prince escaped from the defeat, turn'd hermit, and died in the country of *Anjou* in the year 1691, with the reputation of a saint. This author relates several conjectures upon this subject, and relies a great deal upon the resemblance of this hermit's visage with king *Henry* the fourth's. 'Tis certain, he says several things which make the fact appear very probable.

The Life of  
an unknown  
Hermit, by  
M. Grandet.

*Henry* the fourth had, lastly, by *Charlotte des Effarts*, dame de *Romorantin*, two daughters *Jane* and *Mary Henrietta* of *Bourbon*. The first was abbess of *Font-Everard*, and the second abbess of *Chelles*.

F I N I S.





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